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S/24038
29 May 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

REPORT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL CONCERNING THE CREDENTIALS OF THE ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF JAPAN ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Pursuant to rule 15 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the Secretary-General wishes to report that he has received credentials signed on 11 May 1992 by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan stating that Mr. Yoshiyuki Motomura has been appointed alternate representative of Japan on the Security Council.

In the opinion of the Secretary-General, these credentials are in order.

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-sixth session
Agenda item 68
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 29 May 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a telegram sent to you by Dr. Branko Kostić, Vice-President of the Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 68, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIĆ
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX

Telegram from the Vice-President of the Presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia addressed to the Secretary-General

In our previous letter, we informed you of our efforts to do whatever we can with a view to ending the tragic war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Today, I would like to inform you that the Serbian leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina made the following proposal: firstly, that the Sarajevo Airport and the relevant air corridors be immediately demilitarized and placed under the control and protection of the United Nations and, secondly, that the whole city of Sarajevo be placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations. They today publicly announced this proposal in the International Press Centre in Belgrade.

Since this is a concrete proposal conducive to defusing the greatest and the most tragic trouble spot of the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which should be implemented in the shortest time possible, the Presidency of Yugoslavia feels that the relevant decision in this regard needs to be made.

I avail myself of this opportunity to inform you that a second big convoy with humanitarian relief and food sent by the Republic of Serbia yesterday successfully reached Sarajevo.

Branko KOSTIC
Vice-President of the Presidency

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S/24040
29 May 1992

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THE SITUATION CONCERNING WESTERN SAHARA

Report by the Secretary-General

INTRODUCTION

1. In my letter of 25 March 1992 (S/23754) to the President of the Security Council I informed him of the appointment of Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan as my new Special Representative for Western Sahara. In his response to me of the same date (S/23755), the President reiterated the Council's support for my efforts and those to be made by the Special Representative to accelerate the implementation of the Settlement Plan for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara and expressed interest in receiving from me a further report on the progress made in the implementation of the Plan. As desired by the Council and in pursuance of the intention expressed in paragraph 30 of my report to the Council of 28 February 1992 (S/23662) the present report addresses the current status of the implementation of the Plan in its different aspects.

I. MILITARY ASPECTS

2. As of 20 May 1992, the military strength of MINURSO was 349, including 229 United Nations Military Observers.

(a) United Nations military observers and headquarters personnel:

Argentina	7
Australia	2
Austria	1
Bangladesh	1
Canada	14
China	20
Egypt	9
France	30

Ghana	1
Greece	1
Guinea	1
Ireland	6
Italy	6
Kenya	10
Malaysia	1
Nigeria	1
Pakistan	1
Peru	15
Poland	2
Russia	30
Switzerland	1
Tunisia	9
UK	15
USA	30
Venezuela	15
Total	229

(b) Contingents

(1) Signals unit: Australia	43
(2) Medical unit: Switzerland	61
(3) Movement Control: Canada	16
Total	120
Grand total	349

3. In view of the extension of MINURSO's mandate beyond the duration estimated in the Settlement Plan, troop-contributing Governments have agreed to rotate their contingents at the end of their scheduled tour of duty. Such rotations had been completed by the end of April 1992.

4. After serving with distinction as the Force Commander of MINURSO since its inception, Major-General Armand Roy (Canada), completed his assignment on 24 April 1992 and returned to his home country in order to assume a new command there. Since that date the Deputy Force Commander, Brigadier-General Luis Block Urban (Peru), has served as the Force Commander a.i.

5. During the reporting period, the deployment of United Nations military observers has remained as described in paragraphs 4 and 5 of my last report to the Council on 28 February 1992, except that the previous central and southern sectors have been marged into one single southern sector. Its headquarters has been established at Dakhla.

6. In its present limited deployment, the role of the MINURSO military unit is essentially limited to monitoring and verifying the cease-fire into which the parties have entered. Since my last report, a total of 102 violations - none of them involving casualties - have been reported by MINURSO, 97 of which were attributed to Morocco and the remaining five to the Polisario. Most of these violations have involved improvement of defensive works such as the digging of anti-tank ditches, the construction of barriers and bunkers and the extension and reinforcement of existing fortifications. There have also been frequent complaints of overflights but with its limited resources MINURSO was in a position to positively identify only five aircraft involved in such overflights. On the other hand, it is noted with satisfaction that there have been no exchanges of fire between the two sides and no casualties resulting from intentional hostile action even though mine explosions have caused casualties on both sides.

II. OTHER ASPECTS

7. Shortly after his appointment, my Special Representative, Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan, made a tour of the mission area and the neighbouring countries lasting from 19 to 30 April 1992. During this tour the Special Representative met not only with the King of Morocco and the Secretary-General of the Polisario, but also with the Heads of State of Algeria and Mauritania. On the basis of his initial contacts with the parties, the Special Representative concluded that their respective positions remained far apart and that these differences continued to present serious obstacles to the implementation of the Settlement Plan. At the same time, he was encouraged to find that both parties continued to be committed to the Plan as a framework for a just and permanent solution to the Western Sahara conflict. Additionally, both Algeria and Mauritania promised him their full support and cooperation in order to overcome existing obstacles and to facilitate the execution of the Plan.

8. In the light of his findings, at the conclusion of the tour, the Special Representative explored with each of the parties their readiness to hold talks with him in an effort to reactivate the Plan. Both parties have agreed to do so. The talks are now under way and are being held within the framework of the Settlement Plan.

III. OBSERVATIONS

9. It is my expectation that in their talks with the Special Representative, both parties will cooperate with him in efforts to promote trust and confidence and to create an atmosphere conducive to the smooth implementation of the Plan.

10. Regardless of the progress of the current talks, I remain convinced of the need for maintaining the current military strength of MINURSO in Western Sahara in order to adequately monitor the cease-fire. Although cease-fire violations have continued to occur and their frequency has even increased somewhat since my last report, the incidents reported have generally not been of a violent nature; nor has there been a single battle casualty on either side since MINURSO was deployed last year. Furthermore, during the Special Representative's visit to the area, he was assured by both parties concerned that they would make every effort to adhere to the provisions of the cease-fire agreement and to cooperate with MINURSO within the framework of the Settlement Plan. Thus, I would expect compliance with the cease-fire to improve significantly over the coming months.

11. In the light of the foregoing and bearing in mind the critical role MINURSO observers are playing for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity pending the settlement of the conflict, I recommend that the Council extend MINURSO's mandate for a further period of three months i.e. until the end of August 1992. It is my hope that by then substantial progress would have been made to prepare the ground for the holding of a referendum leading to the peaceful settlement of the Western Sahara conflict. However, if by that time the peace process remains deadlocked, notwithstanding the efforts currently being made by my Special Representative in his talks with the parties, the Security Council might wish to consider a different approach.

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30 May 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 28 MAY 1992 FROM THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

In connection with the letter addressed to you on 23 May 1992, I should be grateful if you would arrange for the letter of President Mircea Snegur and its annexes to be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) NICOLAE ŢÎU
Minister of Foreign Affairs

Annex I

[Original: English]

Letter dated 23 May 1992 from the President of the Republic of Moldova addressed to the Secretary-General

I appeal to you in an extremely critical moment for my country - the Republic of Moldova, member of the UNO - which faces a serious danger for its security, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

This situation was provoked by a flagrant and violent interference of the 14th Army into the internal affairs of my country, the Army which is under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation, permanent member of the Security Council, and whose troops are stationed in the East of Moldova.

On 19 May 1992 military troops of the Army have openly joined separative antigovernmental forces by supplying them with modern military equipment, including tanks and rockets, and by supporting them in their violent actions directed against legal state bodies, and also against peaceful population. As the result, during the last several days in the conflict zone the agreement on the cease-fire has been violated repeatedly, there are numerous victims and a great material damage is caused, the number of refugees has increased sufficiently. The mentioned above circumstances have provoked grave consequences for the internal stability. In fact, the territory of Moldova on the left bank of the Nistru river is occupied by the forces of the 14th Army.

All this constitutes none other than an act of a military aggression of the Russian Federation against the Republic of Moldova, a non-declared war, for the consequences of which the Government of Russia bears full responsibility.

I consider that the escalation of the military conflict in Moldova can jeopardize peace and security in the South-Eastern Europe and creates a dangerous precedent for the whole international community.

The leaders of the Republic of Moldova have acted promptly for the political solution of the conflict. We have recently addressed repeatedly the leaders of Russia and personally President Boris Yeltsin to order the immediate withdrawal of the troops of the 14th Army from the firing positions and subsequently the total withdrawal of the Army from the territory of Moldova. To our great regret, we have not got any answer to our letters which we annex to this document as the information.

I appeal to you, Excellency, with the request to inform members of the Security Council of the UNO of this letter together with the enclosed ones, regarding it as an official document.

In case if the Russian Federation doesn't immediately stop this act of aggression against the Republic of Moldova and doesn't withdraw its military forces engaged in the conflict on the left bank of the Nistru river, the

Republic of Moldova reserves the right to appeal officially to the Security Council of the UNO for the discussion of the situation created as a result of this foreign military intervention.

(Signed) Mircea SNEGUR
President of the Republic
of Moldova

/...

Annex II

[Original: Russian]

Letter dated 19 May 1992 from the President of the Republic of Moldova addressed to Heads of States and Government

I wish to inform you that on 19 May 1992, at 1800 hours local time, the armed forces of Russia, specifically the 14th army, which is stationed in our territory, using T-72 tanks, armoured personnel carriers, 122 mm guns and other armed force, engaged in overt armed aggression against the Republic of Moldova, against the legitimate forces of law and order.

In informing you of this situation, we confirm that a solution of the conflict in the left bank regions is possible by peaceful political means without any outside interference. However, the armed incursion of the Russian 14th army into the conflict zone is making it impossible to begin implementing the agreements worked out during the quadripartite meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Moldova, Russia, Romania and Ukraine on 6 and 17 April 1992 in Kishinev and is posing a real danger of an escalation of armed confrontation on the continent.

Sir,

We shall be grateful to you if you are able to provide us with support at this decisive point of the establishment of the Republic of Moldova.

(Signed) Mircea SNEGUR
President of the Republic
of Moldova

Annex III

[Original: Russian]

Statement by the Presidium of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova on 20 May 1992

On 19 May 1992 at 1800 hours, the 14th army of the Russian Federation - a member of the Security Council of the United Nations - flouting the norms of international law and disregarding the tragic consequences of its actions, occupied the eastern regions of the Republic of Moldova and engaged in overt military aggression against our independent, sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations, as a continuation of the policy of the pro-imperial, pro-communist forces which are hoping to revive the Soviet empire. In so doing it is nullifying all the efforts of the leadership of the Republic to settle by political means the artificially created conflict in the left bank regions of the Dnestr and also to implement the agreements reached by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, Romania and Ukraine at the quadripartite meetings in Helsinki and Kishinev.

The decree of the VI Congress of people's deputies of the Russian Federation of 8 April 1992 justifying overt interference in the internal affairs of Moldova, the aggressive statements about our State made by the Vice-President of Russia, Mr. A. Rutskoy, in Tiraspol and Moscow, and the pro-imperial activity in the left bank regions of the Dnestr of Lieutenant-General A. Makashov and other leaders of the national-chauvinist circles of Russia - are all links in the same chain of preparation of military aggression against the Republic of Moldova.

Overt military aggression against our State has become a reality.

The people and leadership of Moldova have always been concerned about the stationing of a foreign army in the territory of the Republic and its participation in igniting conflict in the eastern regions. For a long time the leadership of our State has constantly insisted on an unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the 14th army and other military units from its territory. The course of events has again and again convincingly proved that we are right and that the allegations of the official representatives of both Russia and the army itself are false.

The attempts of certain political circles of Russia to portray armed aggression as a case of individual units breaking away from the control of the army command or of "irregulars" capturing military hardware are nothing less than outright disinformation. And the leadership of Russia is saying nothing.

It is well known that it was precisely with the assistance of the former commander of the 14th army, Lieutenant-General G. Yakovlev, and the former commander of the Odessa military district, Colonel General I. Morozov, that

the pro-communist leaders of Tiraspol set up and armed illegal formations such as ROSM, TSO, the "Dnestr" battalion and others. The leadership of the 14th army deliberately assisted in disseminating modern weapons on the left bank of the Dnestr and in their seizure, in particular, by units of cosaks and criminal elements from outside.

The statement of the military council of the 14th army of 19 May 1992 provides further proof that the military aggression against Moldova was carefully prepared.

We call on the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and its President to stop the overt military aggression against Moldova and immediately withdraw the 14th army from the territory of that sovereign State.

At this difficult time of trial we appeal to all our countrymen to close ranks and at the first call come to the defence of the democracy, independence, territorial integrity and freedom of our native land.

Annex IV

[Original: Russian]

Government telegram

To: Mr. B. N. Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation
Copy to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation

Dear Boris Nikolaevich,

To the deep regret and misfortune of our peoples, the situation that I frequently predicted has become a sad reality. Yesterday, 17 May 1992, at 1800 hours local time, the 14th army of Russia started providing overt armed support to the separatist forces which are tearing apart our small Republic.

Tanks, armoured personnel carriers, artillery and other types of military hardware and weapons were moved into battle positions in the left bank regions of the Republic of Moldova.

Yesterday too the military council of that "army" in an unequivocal form threatened the President of Moldova with "return fire".

This constitutes direct military aggression, Boris Nikolaevich, and to me it is, to say the least, strange that for 22 hours now you have not reacted in any way ...

I should like once again to inform you that no one has fired or is firing on the 14th army. Provocation orchestrated by the separatists including firing on the military town of Dybossary was used as a long-awaited pretext. However, I hope you understand that the Moldovian forces of law and order have never had any intention and have no intention of engaging in battle with units of the regular army equipped with the most modern weapons. Moreover, they have no desire and never had any desire to provoke such a conflict themselves. All this story of an attack on the military is simply a monstrous provocation and you and I are being manipulated by those who want to turn back history.

Boris Nikolaevich:

I request you, as President of the Russian Federation, to intervene immediately and to stop Russia's aggression against Moldova. This can and must be resolved by peaceful means or, before our very eyes and with the direct and decisive participation of the 14th army of Russia, it may develop into an international, inter-State armed conflict.

Once again appealing to your reason and wisdom, I still hope that we can justify the trust placed in us by those who have elected us.

President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, 20 May 1992

Annex V

[Original: Russian]

Government telegram

To: Mr. B. N. Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation

Boris Nikolaevich,

Despite my appeals to you regarding the extremely dangerous consequences of the breaking away of the 14th Russian army, the process of its disintegration is continuing.

Moreover, meetings are being held in units of that army at which decisions are being taken to go over to the side of the bandit and separatist forces. The soldiers of your army, Boris Nikolaevich, have taken to their tanks and are now firing on Moldovian villages.

Yesterday in the village of Malovata a pregnant woman with small children was killed.

Hypocritically manipulating various assertions regarding the need to protect their families (although no one from the legitimate formations fired or even considered firing on them), the disintegrated part of the 14th army, after accusing the same minority of treachery and isolating it, has gone over to the side of the State criminals. And now openly, using Russian weapons in illegal bandit formations, they are preventing the legitimate authorities from restoring constitutional order. Yesterday and last night, along with the bandits, your soldiers, using all kinds of artillery, tanks and other weapons, fired almost continuously on peaceful settlements and dwellings.

Yes, Boris Nikolaevich, on dwellings, and in Moldova, whose land was destined by nature itself for peace and construction, and where there is no place for trenches. Every day dozens of people are dying, thousands of people have left their homes and are asking me: what does all this mean?

History will not forget such things and will not forgive, dear President of the Russian Federation.

Mircea Snegur
President of the Republic
of Moldova

Kishinev, 22 May 1992

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30 May 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 30 MAY 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF AUSTRALIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

As the Australian Government and people have witnessed the tragic slide of the Balkan area into deeper and ever more senseless violence, we have felt a growing sense of horror and outrage. Australia is far from the Balkans. But very many Australians have their roots in the region. They feel deeply what is happening to their families and to their history and culture. So, our concern has a solid basis in fact, as well as in terms of universal principles.

The tragedy in the Balkans first affected Slovenia, then engulfed Croatia and is now destroying Bosnia and Herzegovina. The last few days have seen particularly violent attacks on the centre of Sarajevo. The international community cannot watch this violence passively.

Working through the European Community and the United Nations, the international community has tried many means of seeking to ensure that the parties settle their dispute peacefully. Negotiations, mediation and arbitration have been attempted. Positive and negative economic measures have been instituted by many countries, including Australia, to try to bring about an end to the violence. Peace monitors and peacekeepers have been sent to the area by a diverse collection of countries which have no other motive but to put an end to the senseless violence.

And yet the violence has not abated; indeed it has become even more cruel to the civilian populations of the region, over 1 million of whom have been forced to flee their homes.

The Austrlian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister have noted that all the parties to the conflict carried some responsibility for its continuation but, like many other leaders in the international community, they have come to the conclusion that Serbia and Montenegro carry the principal burden of responsibility. This is evidenced by the scale and inhumanity of the activities of the Yugoslav People's Army and of the irregular Serbian forces which are either under the direction of the authorities in Belgrade or over which those authorities have not attempted to assert effective control.

That is why there is no escaping the need to bring home to Serbia and Montenegro the unacceptability of their conduct. Australia therefore urges the Council to adopt the draft resolution currently before it.

In supporting this specific sanctions regime against Serbia and Montenegro, the intention of the Australian Government is not to inflict hurt on the Serbian and Montenegrin people but to demonstrate to their Governments the unacceptability of their current policies.

The Australian Government hopes that the sanctions regime need not last long. The aim of the sanctions is to bring the violence and conflict to an end without delay.

It follows that we would hope to see sanctions lifted as soon as a political solution is reached and the fighting has come to a stop. That solution and that end is our objective.

I would be grateful if you could have this letter circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Richard BUTLER AM
Permanent Representative
of Australia
to the United Nations

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Agenda item 68
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 30 May 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a telegram sent to you by Dr. Branko Kostić, Vice-President of the Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 68, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIĆ
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX

Telegram dated 30 May 1992 from the Vice-President of the Presidency of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia addressed to the Secretary-General

Having reviewed the draft of the Security Council resolution on sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, or rather Serbia and Montenegro, prepared by Belgium, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, we feel most profoundly concerned and deeply disappointed.

If this draft were to be adopted as it stands, such a resolution would constitute a unique example of a member country of the United Nations being punished even though:

(a) It does not have a single soldier or armed formation outside its territory;

(b) It has not carried out nor is it in the process of carrying out mobilization of its armed forces;

(c) On its territory there are about 400,000 refugees, including thousands of Muslims, who have sought shelter from the brutality of the civil war and who have all been adequately taken care of;

(d) It is providing all kinds of humanitarian aid on a continuous basis to the afflicted population of Bosnia-Herzegovina;

(e) It has publicly and resolutely been using all its political influence to halt the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina and is undertaking numerous other steps to affect a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

On the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, peace and security reign. In no way is the conflict in the neighbourhood being instigated or encouraged. On the contrary, every effort is being made to prevent it and to restore peace and security for all.

The greatest responsibility for the tragic developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina lies with the authorities of that Republic, which have, in violation of their own Constitution and without prior political agreement of the three constituent national communities inhabiting it, undertaken a series of measures and actions on the domestic and international levels that actually provoked the bloody inter-ethnic war, with its tragic consequences.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia did everything in its power to prevent and halt the fighting and to help find a political and peaceful way of dealing with the outstanding problems. At the same time, it sought to avoid interfering in those conflicts: all the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro who

happened to be on the territory of that Republic doing their regular military service at the time of the outbreak of conflicts were withdrawn immediately, with the exception of a number of military cadets, mostly under 17, attending the Military School in Sarajevo, who remained blocked and who were prevented by force from returning to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

This would therefore be an unprecedented case of "aggression" being committed without an army and of the citizens of the country being proclaimed the "victim of aggression" in large numbers and of all nationalities seeking salvation on the territory of the would-be aggressor.

The method chosen to punish and put the blame on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia cannot contribute to halting the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina as the conflict has not been provoked or instigated in any way by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Having opted for the preservation of their former homeland, the Serbs and Montenegrins, together with the members of other nations living on the territory that comprises Serbia and Montenegro, underlined as their primary concern the safeguarding of peace and advocated a peaceful settlement to all the existing problems on the soil of the former Yugoslavia.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia hereby reaffirms:

Firstly, that it respects the territorial integrity of all the other Republics and that it has no territorial claims on others;

Secondly, that it will use all means at its disposal to immediately stop the fighting and to enable effective international control and protection against any outside interference in the conflict;

Thirdly, that it will effectively prevent any military organization or operation on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia directed towards Bosnia-Herzegovina. To that end, it invites the deployment of United Nations observers along the border of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to control it;

Fourthly, it urges that the necessary conditions be ensured to enable the efficient and unhindered distribution of badly needed humanitarian aid by the opening of all communications in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including placing the international airport in Sarajevo under international control;

Fifthly, it emphatically reaffirms its strong opposition to forcible expulsion and change of the ethnic composition of the population and again urges the earliest possible return of all displaced persons to their homes.

We are confident that impartial study of the evidence on the ground would prove that the accusations against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are unfounded. We therefore request that before any measures are taken, the

grounds on the basis of which they have been proposed be checked on the ground. For that purpose we would again like to address an invitation to a delegation of the Security Council and you personally to witness the sincerity of our efforts in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to put an end to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible and to prevent the continued suffering of its citizens and the devastation of their property.

Instead of the proposed sanctions, which are, in our deep conviction, unjust and without precedent, a real contribution to the settlement of the crisis and an act of assistance to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as an active member of the United Nations ever since its inception, would be the urgent convocation of an international conference on Yugoslavia with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council, a representative of the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the European Economic Community and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as all the parties involved from Yugoslavia. The conference would be geared towards providing firm guarantees for the implementation of the agreement that would ultimately be reached on a comprehensive settlement to the crisis, including the currently most difficult situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We are hereby enclosing our specific proposal regarding the mandate of this conference (see appendix).

Branko KOSTIĆ
Vice-President of the
Presidency of Yugoslavia

APPENDIX

Proposal for the conference on Yugoslavia

1. All parties shall seek to resolve and overcome all problems in the present crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Yugoslav territories exclusively through dialogue and cooperation, without confrontations or use of force.

2. All the three confronted parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina shall accept an instantaneous and unconditional cease-fire and establish a joint tripartite group to control that operation, including in that group representatives of the United Nations.

3. In parallel with the launching and implementation of that operation would begin the disarming and demobilization of members of the armed formations of each of the three ethnic communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, down to a level that would satisfy the requirements of legitimate defence and at the same time contribute to the restoration of mutual confidence. In that process, the leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia expresses its readiness to take over and transport, with the prior consent of the leaderships of the three constituent nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the United Nations Security Council, the heavy weaponry from Bosnia-Herzegovina to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

4. Concurrently with the implementation of paragraphs 2 and 3, the conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina would resume its work along the lines of cantonal or confederal organization of the three constituent units, on which a tripartite consensus would have to be reached within three weeks from the resumption of the conference.

5. The current conference on Yugoslavia would resume its work based on the approach of equal treatment of both the option for independence embraced by the Republics that have seceeded, and the federal option taken by the Republics that have decided to remain in the common State of Yugoslavia.

6. Normal inter-State relations would be established among former parts of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the prospect of special interlinkage in areas where there are pronounced shared interests.

7. All States created or remaining in the territories of the former Yugoslavia would confirm that they feel bound by all the international obligations assumed by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the basis of concluded or ratified international treaties, conventions or agreements in all areas, and especially in the field of human rights and rights of national minorities.

8. All these States created or remaining in the territories of the former Yugoslavia would proceed immediately to develop and adopt confidence-building

measures, including measures reducing the level of armed forces, and disarmament, down to a level necessary for legitimate defence and harmonized with the level of armed forces in their immediate neighbourhood.

9. All States created or remaining in the territories of the former Yugoslavia would sign separate bilateral pacts and a joint multilateral pact on friendship, mutual respect and good-neighbourly relations.

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S/24044
1 June 1992
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC/ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 21 MAY 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

On instructions from my Government I wish to transmit herewith a letter dated 21 May 1992 from Mr. Ahmad Hussein, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, concerning the decisions to demarcate the land boundary between Iraq and Kuwait adopted by the Commission you appointed in connection with that boundary.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abd al-Amir AL-ANBARI
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

92-23347 3211h (E) 050692 050692

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Annex

Letter dated 21 May 1992 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General

You are, no doubt, aware of the decisions of your appointed Commission on the subject of the Iraq-Kuwait boundary-line, which were adopted on 14 April 1992, during the Commission's fifth session in New York, and upon which the boundary demarcation is to be based.

On this occasion I would like to elucidate to you the viewpoint of the Government of Iraq regarding this matter which, in view of its vital importance, is serious not only to Iraq's interests, but also to the common interests, be it in our Arab region or the other regions in the world that witness international disputes regarding boundaries.

First, before anything else, I would like to refer to my letter to Your Excellency of 6 April 1991, regarding the Government of Iraq's position on Security Council resolution 687 (1991), adopted by the Council on 4 April 1991 (S/22456). I dealt in the first section of my letter with what was specified in the aforementioned resolution with regard to the subject of the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait. In this respect I stated in my letter the following:

> "While in its preamble, the resolution reaffirms that Iraq is an independent sovereign State, the fact remains that a good number of its iniquitous provisions impair that sovereignty. In fact, the resolution constitutes an unprecedented assault on the sovereignty, and the rights that stem therefrom, embodied in the Charter and in international law and practice. For example, where the question of boundaries is concerned, the Security Council has determined in advance the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait. And yet it is well known, from the juridical and practical standpoint, that in international relations boundary issues must be the subject of an agreement between States, since this is the only basis capable of guaranteeing the stability of frontiers.
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> "Moreover, the resolution fails to take into account Iraq's view, which is well known to the Council, that the provisions relating to the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait contained in the "Agreed Minutes between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters" dated 4 October 1963 have not yet been subjected to the constitutional procedures required for ratification of the Agreed Minutes by the legislative branch and the President of Iraq, thus leaving the question of the boundary pending and unresolved. The Council has nevertheless imposed on Iraq a boundary with Kuwait. By acting in this strange manner, the Council itself has also violated one of the provisions of resolution 660, which served as the basis for its subsequent resolutions. In its paragraph 3, resolution 660 calls upon Iraq and Kuwait to resolve their differences through

negotiation, and the question of the boundary is well known to be one of the main differences. Iraq officially informed the Council that it accepted resolution 660 and was prepared to apply it, but the Council has gone beyond this legal position, contradicting its previous resolutions, and adopted an iniquitous resolution which imposes on Iraq, an independent and sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations, new conditions and a situation which deprives it of its right to establish its territorial rights in accordance with the principles of international law. Thus the Council is also depriving Iraq of its right to exercise its free choice and to affirm that it accepts the boundary without reservation. Where the question of the boundary is concerned, the Council resolution is an iniquitous resolution which constitutes a dangerous precedent, a first in the annals of the international Organization and - as some impartial members of the Council indicated in their Statements when the resolution was voted on - an assault on the sovereignty of States.

"It is also to be noted that the United States of America, the author of the original draft resolution on which resolution 687, which imposes a solution to the boundary and other differences between Iraq and Kuwait, was based, refuses to impose any solution whatsoever on its ally, Israel, in accordance with conventions, United Nations resolutions and international law.

"Furthermore, the United States of America is preventing the Security Council from assuming the responsibilities incumbent upon it with respect to the Arab-Zionist conflict, the Israeli policy of annexation of the occupied Arab territories, the establishment of settlements, the displacement of populations and the disregard for the rights of the Palestinian people and the neighbouring Arab countries, by vetoing any draft resolution approved by the remaining members of the Council, for the simple reason that Israel does not want a resolution which favours a just settlement of the conflict."

Second, in paragraph 3 of resolution 687 (1991), the Security Council called upon the Secretary-General "to lend his assistance to make arrangements with Iraq and Kuwait to demarcate the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait, drawing on appropriate material, including the map transmitted by Security Council document S/22412 and to report back to the Security Council within one month;". In accordance with this, the Secretary-General prepared a draft report which was presented by the Legal Counsel of the United Nations Secretariat to Iraq's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York during a meeting that was held between them on 17 April 1991, asking him to present the Iraqi Government's opinion. We have presented our remarks in my letter dated 23 April 1991 (S/22558, annex II, enclosure), and which can be summed up in the following points:

1. The unavailability of any legal basis for the Security Council's consideration of the map attached to document S/22412 dated 28 March 1991 upon a request from the Permanent Mission of the United Kingdom of Great Britain

and Northern Ireland amongst the appropriate material which the process of demarcation depends upon. The Iraqi Government has not been a party in the drawing of the said map; also, it has not recognized it and there is no evidence of such recognition. On this basis, the consideration of this map amongst the materials upon which the process of the demarcation depends is tantamount to an arbitrary imposition from a single party on the will of Iraq, which is a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations. It is also a preconceived judgement on the course of the border line on the ground before any commission has embarked on the process of boundary demarcation.

2. Lending assistance from the Secretary-General for laying down measures to demarcate the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait must offer complete balance between the extremes any of the two parties might go to in the course of implementing the demarcation process, and provide for the solution of disputes that might arise between them in their technical positions, a method which ensures justice and fairness. From this standpoint, we observed that the composition of the Commission that was proposed by the Secretary-General for implementing the process of demarcation could not render justice and fairness and in particular, in the light of what is explained in section 1 above. The Secretary-General had proposed that the Commission be composed of five members, two representing Iraq and Kuwait and three independent experts chosen by the Secretary-General who appoints one of them as Chairman of the Commission. The Secretary-General also suggested that the Commission's decisions be taken by a majority vote. Nevertheless, the Government of Iraq expressed at the same time its belief that, as long as it would not have any role in the choice of the said experts, then it would not be able to confirm in advance the fact of their independence; hence its opinion in the course of the demarcation process would be represented by a single member only, out of five members.

3. In addition to what was provided in resolution 687 (1991) about the basis upon which the process of demarcation depends, the Secretary-General's draft report provided other bases that were expressed in a vague and undetermined manner. The draft report mentioned that the Commission could utilize "appropriate technology" and that the Commission would "make the necessary arrangements for the identification and examination of appropriate material relevant to the demarcation of the boundary". It is for this reason that Iraq had requested the elucidation of these concepts because it would help to minimize the possibilities of dispute in the future when the Commission embarked on its work.

4. The Secretary-General's draft report imposed upon Iraq half the expenses of the demarcation process. This prompted the Government of Iraq to question the basis of this opinion as long as the overall content of the suggestions, provided in the draft report, seemed to be almost a "contract of adhesion" in which Iraq had no free will to agree consensually on its content. It was proposed that Iraq bear half the expenses of the demarcation process without having any consideration for its opinion in the overall boundary process, whether in its delimitation or in its demarcation. From this standpoint the Iraqi Government did not find any justification on the

basis of the rules of justice and fairness to bear any expenses of a process which was imposed upon it.

It is worth mentioning that the Government of Iraq had assured the Secretary-General of its full readiness for consultations regarding its stated remarks, whether it be in New York or any other place. It had also been indicated that, like Iraq's acceptance of resolution 687 (1991), in spite of its objections to it and its criticism of its contents, the Iraqi Government would cooperate with the Secretary-General and would nominate its representative in the Demarcation Commission even if the Secretary-General did not take into consideration the remarks and views of the Iraqi Government owing to the continuation of the same circumstances which imposed acceptance upon Iraq.

The Secretary-General replied in his letter, dated 30 April 1991 (S/22558, annex III), to the remarks and views of Iraq. He relied in his reply on the text of resolution 687 (1991) regarding the basis of demarcation as if they were unknown to Iraq, and he expressed to Iraq his assurances that he would be keen to guarantee the independence of the experts. He referred to the Demarcation Commission the task of interpreting some of the vague concepts of the demarcation bases on the pretext that his interpretation would affect the independence of the Commission's work. He stated that Iraq's participation in the Commission would enable the Iraqi Government to express its views, hence it had to bear half the expenses of the demarcation process. The Secretary-General did not target, with such replies, the substantive issue of Iraq's remarks and views, the point of which had been to hope that the Secretary-General would seek, in the light of the imposition by the Security Council resolution of a boundary delimitation formula between Iraq and Kuwait and the basis of the boundary demarcation process, to ensure justice and fairness throughout by the achievement of balance and equality between the positions of the two parties in some very vital aspects, namely, the method of the Commission's composition, the manner of carrying out its technical task, the method of taking its decisions, the nature of the said decisions and their characteristics, and other important matters. For that matter the Iraqi Government had called for consultations, a call which was totally ignored by the Secretary-General after he had submitted his draft report, without any alterations, to the Security Council in document S/22558 dated 2 May 1991. Yet, in spite of all this Iraq participated in the Commission's work.

Third, as you know, the Commission held its first session in New York on 23 and 24 May 1991. During that session, which dealt with organizational matters, the Commission decided that its work was "technical and not political" and that the nature of the task entrusted to it related solely to "the demarcation of the boundary". It requested the two independent experts Mr. Ian Brook (Sweden) and Mr. William Robertson (New Zealand) to present a plan of work during the next session.

The second session was held in Geneva from 2 to 12 July 1991. The two independent experts presented in that session a "discussion paper", which contained, as they put it, background information on the interpretation of the

boundary demarcation which could be considered as the starting-point in the discussions of the Commission.

As you are aware, the Commission adopted during that session a number of crucial decisions, both substantive and technical, by which it settled the fundamental bases of what was to be the course of the land boundary. This was done in an atmosphere distinguished by a number of characteristics that cannot be overlooked by any fair and objective observer. Permit me to take one example of the manner in which the Commission reached one of its major decisions on substance, namely the one relating to the creation of a turning-point at Safwan, a point which controlled the overall course of what was called the northern frontier in the direction towards the east. The two independent experts relied in their interpretation of the said direction on cartographic considerations based fundamentally on British correspondence and maps going back to the period when Britain was the dominating colonial Power in the region. In their attempt to substantiate their viewpoint, the two experts referred to some Iraqi maps in order to prove the existence of Iraqi concepts of the boundary despite the fact that the maps presented contained explicitly a disclaimer which has the effect of negating any recognition, implied acceptance or acquiescence in regard to demarcation. The two experts also sought to substantiate their viewpoint on the Iraqi concept of demarcation by relying on an Iraqi diplomatic note going back to June 1940, which related to the position of the noticeboard placed by the British south of Safwan, and on an Iraqi proposal relating to the demarcation of the boundary between Safwan and the sea which entailed an amendment of a formula called the delimitation formula of 1932. This was done, although everybody knows that Iraq has never accepted any formula relating to demarcation, whether British or otherwise, and that Britain had rejected the Iraqi note of 1940, and that it had marred the Iraqi proposal of 1955, which Kuwait rejected. In response to the views of the experts in this connection, the representative of Iraq, for example, pointed out that in the creation of a turning-point on the course of the so-called boundary at Safwan the two experts failed to look precisely at the formula in the 1932 document; they simply concentrated their attention on maps. It is clear from the said formula that Safwan was mentioned twice: once as "south of the latitude of Safwan" to describe the terminal point of the boundary line in the western area in Wadi al-Batin only and for no other purpose, and the second as "passing south of the Safwan Wells" to describe the course of the boundary line eastward from the point at al-Batin to the point of intersection between Khowr Abd Allah and Khowr Zhobeir. It is very clear, therefore, that the turning-point at Safwan was created without any justification. The representative of Iraq also pointed out in this regard that depending purely on a cartographic point of view on the question would present an incomplete picture of the appropriate material. To substantiate this point, the representative of Iraq requested the Commission to look into the factual phenomena of territorial encroachment by the Kuwaiti authorities in a northward direction after 1963. This was achieved by moving border posts, border police and oil excavation sites and the establishment of agricultural plantations. All these acts were protested by Iraqi notes presented through official channels. All those notes referred to the "area of the border" and

not to a specific line. The representative of Iraq showed the Commission a compilation of documents which represented photocopies of passports that used to be stamped at a site fixed by the Kuwaiti authorities at "al-Mitla'a" in the 1960s, and which moved to the north more than 70 kilometres. The representative of Iraq stated that a translation of those documents and notes would be made in order to present them to the Commission. He noted that Iraq had not presented them at that session of the Commission as it was not possible to know what needed to be presented before looking at the report of the two experts; and so he requested the Commission to make the time available for that. In this connection, the representative of Iraq recalled that, during the visit carried out by the Commission to the area separating Iraq and Kuwait in June 1991, he had pointed out that the Commission should grant its members ample opportunity to carry out precise research in archives and libraries in order to do a clean and honest job.

I have referred above in a concentrated fashion to the manner in which the Commission has dealt with one fundamental point among those relating to the course of the border as an example in order to clarify the picture of how the material known as "appropriate material" was handled. Actually, what I stated in regard to this point applies also to all others. The fact is that the Commission, instead of being patient in deciding upon matters and waiting for the presentation of the documents and notes referred to by the representative of Iraq, prevented all that by adopting in clear haste substantive technical decisions in regard to the demarcation of the so-called land boundary. This was done under the influence of clear pressure from the representative of the rulers of Kuwait. The decisions came successively one after another through a steam-rolling process led by the representative of Kuwait in full harmony with the two experts. The said representative addressed leading questions which ended with proposals for a vote, some of which were formulated in consultations between him and the two experts. Hence, the Commission did not pay attention to the correct application of the rules of procedure, neither did it pay any attention to the interrelated nature of the substance of the questions to be decided upon, with the result that the one decision negatively affected the substance of the following decision. In addition, the decisions of the Commission far exceeded the bounds of the recommendations presented by the two experts.

Moreover, the decisions were adopted in full contradiction with the delimitation formula. The haste in the adoption of the substantive and technical decisions during the second session was justified by the pretext that the report of the Secretary-General had stated that the demarcation should be achieved as soon as possible in order to promote stability and peace and security along the border (S/22558, para. 4). But in fact the Commission had ended up with one-sided decisions both in source and in substance. Here again emerges another fundamental fact, which cannot be overlooked. The question of the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait was thought of, initiated and set in motion along preconceived lines in order to end with options imposed upon Iraq whether in regard to delimitation or demarcation of the boundary without any regard to Iraq's interests and all the historical facts which support them. In doing so, no room was left for rendering justice and equity

to Iraq's territorial interests. Security Council resolution 687 (1991) imposed the delimitation formula and the pursuit in a preconceived manner of demarcation by interposing the concept of the appropriate material and the consideration of a British map as included in such material. Then came the report of the Secretary-General to complete the preconceived imposition through the manner chosen for the composition of the Commission, the method of adopting its decisions and the addition of further points for the demarcation process when the Commission was constrained to demarcate the international boundary in geographical coordinates of latitude and longitude. All this led a priori to the adoption of pure cartographic evidence without leaving any possibility for the presentation of any other evidence drawn from other appropriate material.

It is worth noting that the Commission could not consider for lack of time the question of intersection of Khowr Abd Allah with Khowr Zhobeir, which represents the eastern point of the boundary line. This question was taken up by the Commission during its third session held in Geneva from 12 to 16 August 1991. In this connection, the two independent experts opted for the view that the determination of the position of the intersection should be made in the epoch of 1932 as that was the period in which the exchange of letters had taken place. This view was supported by the Chairman.

What should not be overlooked is that the Commission has reached that conclusion after prolonged discussions, which seem to have been prompted by the desire to placate, and show courtesy to, the representative of Kuwait at the expense of full adherence to the rules of procedure. The said representative sought to achieve two objectives. The first was to determine the position of the point in question as it is today in order to deprive Iraq of its historic rights in the waters of the intersection of the Khowrs. The second objective was to push the Commission into demarcating the maritime boundary in Khowr Abd Allah despite the fact that the mandate of the Commission did not include that. At any rate, this second objective still stands, for the Commission granted the representative of the Kuwaiti authorities the opportunity to present the subject again in its fifth session held in New York from 8 to 16 April 1992 and decided to continue with its consideration at its next session.

After the Commission had adopted its decisions in regard to the fundamental points of demarcation of the land boundary, the technical criteria for the operation of demarcation and the technical measures to be carried out in the field, the experts went on to implement those decisions during the period falling between the third and fifth sessions of the Commission. As you know, the Commission decided upon the land boundary line at its fifth session held in New York recently. In this connection, it is necessary to record some essential facts.

In implementing a technical decision adopted by the Commission at its second session, the two independent experts investigated the position of a turning-point of what was called the boundary at Safwan in a manner that flatly contradicted the substance of the said decision. The decision of the

Commission, which was adopted on 11 July 1991, authorized the experts to conduct investigations and collect information necessary to enable the Commission to decide upon the northern boundary precisely. It emerged during the fifth session of the Commission that the representative of Kuwait and his experts had accompanied the independent experts in their investigations in the area of Safwan contrary to the decision of the Commission. As is clear from the discussion raised by the representative of Iraq on the question at the 33rd meeting of the Commission, the representative of Iraq was informed of this after the investigation had been carried out, and he had in fact objected to the idea on the basis of the decision of the Commission as soon as he was informed of it.

It is also clear that the experts did not only accompany the representative of the authorities in Kuwait and his experts to witness the determination of the position of the turning-point at Safwan but also they had relied on the opinion of the Kuwaiti experts in addition to the British sources. Accordingly, the representative of the Kuwaiti authorities participated in the determination of the position of the point at Safwan in the field despite the fact that he is a party with a direct interest in the question and that the decision of the Commission did not authorize anyone to proceed along those lines, in which the representative of Iraq was tricked contrary to the principles of ethics and good faith.

The turning-point for the land boundary at Safwan was created contrary to what was stated in the text of the delimitation formula in the 1932 document as we explained simply because the British officials had decided during the period of their colonial authority in the area to demarcate that point. The experts had taken an Iraqi note of 1941 as a starting-point in the creation of the point in question despite the fact that the successive Iraqi Governments have not agreed at all to any formula to demarcate the boundary as we explained.

It is worth noting that the experts of the Commission were not content to rely only on the British sources in demarcating the boundary from that point to the west and east, on the basis that the said demarcation is dictated by the cartographic and the technical nature of the task entrusted to the Commission, as the Commission itself had emphasized on many occasions since its first session. This is because the state of the deliberations of the Commission clearly indicates the contrary, as, at the 34th meeting, the experts expressed their opinion on the necessary force to be given to evidence relating to occupation when they carried out the demarcation. The Commission approved what the experts opted for, which resulted in seizing very large areas of Iraqi territory fully acknowledged to be so before with all that it contains of the oil resources which were not unknown to the British colonialists who used to control the region. Iraqi citizens were deprived of their homes and plantations, which constitute their source of income and which they have inherited from generation to generation throughout history. This is in addition to depriving Iraq of numerous installations and of any meaningful access to the sea. As for the position of the oil wells, the Kuwaiti authorities themselves acknowledged their trespass thereon through

Saad al Abdullah during the meeting with the Deputy Chairman of the Revolution Command Council of Iraq held in Jeddah on 30 July 1990.

There is yet another fundamental fact which should be recorded for history. The work of the Commission, and the speed with which it adopted its decisions in regard to demarcation, was not immune from interference by the Secretariat. All the members of the Commission are fully aware of the fact that the Senior Political Adviser to the Secretary-General, Mr. Alvaro de Soto, called in the Chairman of the Commission, its two experts and its Secretary in the morning of 13 April 1992 and pressed them to complete the work speedily and without hesitation. This uncalled-for interference was prompted by a request from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations. Some quarters may imagine that this intervention was in harmony with what was stated in the report of the Secretary-General that the Commission was responsible in the conduct of its work to the Secretary-General (S/22558, para. 6). If this is so, such an imagination is not well-founded, because the Commission is not only composed of the Chairman and the two independent experts but also includes in addition a representative of each of the parties.

One of the striking facts relating to the results of the work of the Commission is that the United Nations Commission came out with a boundary line on the basis of British sources and interpretations which is worse for Iraq's interests than the British line drawn on the basis of the same sources and interpretations on the British map (S/22412) referred to in Security Council resolution 687 (1991) and which successive Iraqi Governments did not recognize.

Fourth, the results which the Commission reached contradict the facts of history and geography.

Iraq is known to have always been a political entity and the seat of more than one civilization throughout history. It is a fact known for millenia. Throughout its long history, Iraq has always been a coastal State and a major trading centre. The small village established some two centuries ago on the banks of the Arabian Gulf under the name of "Kuwait", an Iraqi term for "a small settlement of people", remained throughout the nineteenth century and up to the First World War an Iraqi Qadhaa' (district) belonging to the Province of Basrah. Under Ottoman administrative law, Kuwait was an integral part of Iraq, subject to the Province of Basrah.

In 1897, the Governor of Basrah, Muhsin Pasha, informed the Sheikh of Kuwait, Mubarak al-Sabah, of the Sultan's decree appointing him as Qa'im-Maqam (District Administrator) of the Qadhaa' of Kuwait, a district of the Province of Basrah. By then, Mubarak had been instigated by the British to kill his two older brothers, Muhammad and Jarrah, who had opposed the British plan to turn Kuwait into an entity under British dominance.

In 1899, Britain goaded Mubarak al-Sabah into signing a secret agreement under which the British were to provide him with protection even though he was a vassal of the Ottoman Empire and, accordingly, had no authority to sign any

international accord. The agreement was therefore strongly rejected by the Ottoman Sultan, who forced Mubarak to retreat and declare his allegiance and subordination to the Ottoman State in 1901.

Britain never ceased these attempts, but continued to establish bases in various parts of the Arabian Gulf in order to consolidate its colonial grip over this region, the strategic importance of which had increased both militarily and politically, within the framework of the competition with the Ottoman Empire, and economically as it constituted an important trade route and was known by the British to contain vast oil reserves. In order to secure the interests of the British Empire by weakening all major States in the region, Britain focused its influence on Kuwait and drew artificial boundaries as they did later, together with their French ally, in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. By so doing Britain perniciously severed a part of Iraq in a manner that deprived a country, ancient in its civilization and great in its land and population, of its natural access to the waters of the Arabian Gulf, the access which it had possessed throughout history.

Since its establishment in 1921, the State of Iraq has refused to recognize what had emanated from this British colonial deed. All successive Iraqi Governments continued to demand the return of this severed part of Iraq and that historical and geographical justice be done to Iraq to guarantee its commercial and economic interests and provide it with the requirements necessary for the defence of its national security. This was the position adopted by successive Iraqi Governments, despite the fact that the Iraqi regime at the time was closely linked to Britain.

Then Britain consistently pressurized Iraq into accepting the fait accompli. When the British Government forced the Prime Minister of Iraq in 1932 to exchange letters with the British Commissioner in Baghdad regarding the demarcation of the boundaries on the basis of the draft agreement proposed between the Ottoman and the British Governments, which had remained unratified because of the outbreak of war, the Iraqi House of Representatives refused, in its capacity as the country's legislative authority in accordance with the Constitution, to ratify the said letters.

During the 1930s, popular demand in Iraq and Kuwait for the return of Kuwait to Iraq increased. The national press adopted those demands and supported them with articles and historical documents affirming this call. The British Political Agent in Kuwait, Colonel Dickson, warned, in his letters to the British Political Resident in the Gulf, in 1933, against rapprochement and called for the separation of the people of Kuwait from the people of Iraq.

In 1940, the ruler of Kuwait replaced the Iraqi administration of the post office in Kuwait with British staff. In 1945, the Iraqi school curricula applied in Kuwaiti schools were replaced by Egyptian curricula.

King Ghazi, the second monarch of Iraq, supported enthusiastically the necessity of the unification of Kuwait with Iraq. He expressed his desire to visit Kuwait. Britain, however, did not encourage the visit and endeavoured to prevent Iraq and Kuwait from reaching any agreement.

In April 1938, Mr. Tawfiq al-Suwaidi, Iraq's then Foreign Minister, informed the British Ambassador in Baghdad, Mr. Peterson, that:

> "The Anglo-Ottoman Agreement of 1913 had recognized Kuwait as a district belonging to the Province of Basrah, and since sovereignty over Basrah had been transferred from the Ottomans to the State of Iraq, then that sovereignty should include Kuwait as provided for in the agreement of 1913. Iraq, therefore, does not recognize any change in the status of Kuwait".

In Kuwait the Kuwaiti youth took an active part in the call for Kuwait's return to Iraq.

In May 1938, a group of "free Kuwaitis" submitted a petition to the Iraqi Government inviting Iraq to help them to achieve their aspirations regarding the return of Kuwait to Iraq. To this end, a "national coalition" was established to call upon Ahmed al-Sabah, the then Sheikh of Kuwait, to set up a legislative Council representing the free people of Kuwait. He was forced to agree to this demand. During the first session of the said Council in 1938, the members expressed their demand for the return of Kuwait to Iraq. The Council's demand displeased the ruler of Kuwait and he dissolved the Council on 21 December 1938, and waged a campaign of arrests and oppression against its members.

Nevertheless, the free people of Kuwait continued to demand the return of Kuwait to Iraq. They sent many telegrams to petition King Ghazi. One of those telegrams, which was broadcast on Baghdad radio on 7 March 1939, called upon King Ghazi to intervene, saying:

> "Our history confirms the integration of Kuwait with Iraq. We shall live and die under the Iraqi flag. Ghazi! Help your brothers in Kuwait!".

The situation escalated into a sweeping uprising led by the youth of Kuwait against the authorities on 10 March 1939. The ruler of Kuwait had to resort to armed force to disperse the youth, a great number of whom he then arrested and imprisoned.

King Ghazi tried to intervene to secure the release of the prisoners. He warned the Sheikh of Kuwait against the continued harassment of the free Kuwaitis.

King Ghazi and the then Iraqi Government were subjected to intense British pressure to desist from Iraqi demands for the return of Kuwait. To this end, the British Ambassador in Baghdad, Mr. Peterson, had several secret meetings with King Ghazi before the latter's death, in an attempt to press him

to give up the claims to Kuwait. A short while afterwards King Ghazi was killed in a mysterious accident on the night of 5 April 1939, giving every reason to believe that Britain was actually behind his death because of his strong advocacy for the return of Kuwait to Iraq.

Following the assassination of King Ghazi, Britain's collaborators seized power in the country. With the outbreak of the Second World War and the following years, Iraq and the region witnessed a series of successive events and changes, among which the creation of Israel, the Arab-Israeli war and the revolution in Egypt. This gave the British colonialists the pretext to concentrate their influence in Kuwait, severing its political and human links with Iraq.

On 9 March 1956, while Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, was on a visit to Baghdad attending a consultative meeting of the Permanent Council of the Baghdad Pact, Prime Minister Nouri al-Said of Iraq raised the subject of accession of Kuwait to the Arab Union which was intended to be formed between Iraq and Jordan. Lloyd promised to put the matter before the British Cabinet. Britain's reply, which was delivered through the British Ambassador in Baghdad, Michael Wright, was that Britain was prepared to grant Kuwait independence and Kuwait would have the freedom to decide the question of joining the Union. In order to present Britain with a fait accompli, Iraq dispatched the then Deputy Prime Minister Tawfiq al-Suwaidi in April 1957 to Shtoora in Lebanon, where Sheikh Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah was staying, in order to negotiate with him about the necessity of Kuwait's accession to the expected Union. That effort, however, did not produce any positive result.

Early in 1958, Prime Minister Nouri al-Said of Iraq submitted to the Baghdad Pact the necessity of the integration of Kuwait with Iraq, at a meeting attended by the representatives of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Britain along with United States Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, who attended the meeting as an observer. No success was achieved at that meeting owing to the British opposing position.

Following the establishment of the Arab Union between Iraq and Jordan on 14 February 1958, King Faisal II, joined by Prime Minister Nouri al-Said and the Foreign Minister of the Union, Tawfiq al-Suwaidi, raised the issue of Kuwait's accession to the Arab Union with the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. The British, however, also rejected that.

When Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah, Sheikh of Kuwait, visited Baghdad on 10 May 1958, King Faisal II and Prime Minister Nouri al-Said, raised with him the issue of Kuwait's accession to the Arab Union. The Sheikh of Kuwait responded by saying that he had to consult the British and seek their advice on the matter.

On 5 June 1958 the Government of the Union presented a confidential note to the British Embassy in Baghdad in which it presented the international status of Kuwait before the First World War by stating:

"The land of Kuwait had, from the point of view of international law, been under the sovereignty of the Ottoman State, as a qadhaa' (district) belonging to the province of Basrah. This sovereignty had never been subject to doubt or dispute from the point of view of either the local authorities in Kuwait or the British Government. Indeed, the latter had implicitly recognized this fact in the Anglo-Turkish Agreement signed in London on 29 July 1913 which stated, in article 6, the right of the Sheikh of Kuwait to exercise the administrative authority invested in him as an Ottoman district administrator subordinate to the Province of Basrah."

The note also presented Kuwait's international status after the war by stating:

"As a consequence of the settlements that were concluded after World War I, Turkey relinquished all the Arab provinces that were subordinated to the Ottoman State, amongst them the three provinces from which the Kingdom of Iraq was formulated, including the Basrah Province which Kuwait was one of its districts. But the international status of Kuwait remained vague during the period of British occupation of Iraq and Britain's assumption of Mandate on it and its practice of actual authority in the country.

"It is only natural in such circumstances that Iraq, who was not free to run its foreign affairs, be obliged to accept any arrangements or settlements decided by the British authority regarding Kuwait, in particular what concerns depriving Iraq from the territorial waters that belonged to the Province of Basrah during the Ottoman era. Before Iraq's accession to the membership of the League of Nations, the Iraqi Government raised with the British authorities the matter of boundaries between Iraq and Kuwait, demanding the return of the islands situated in the said territorial waters and the delimitation of the land boundary in a manner that is righteous and justifiable. Yet, it did not attain the achievement of its justifiable demands because the British Government had presented the text of an agreement signed between it and the Ottoman Government in 1913 which includes, among other things, articles concerning the protection of the Sheikh of Kuwait and the designation of Kuwait's current boundaries. Later on, it was found that this agreement had not been ratified and did not attain the legal status.

"Iraqi Government's last attempt to restore the islands situated in Iraq's territorial waters and the designation of land boundaries came when it approached the British Government during the Baghdad Pact negotiations and the termination of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty when the matter of boundaries was discussed but they did not reach any result".

The note mentioned the importance of Kuwait for Iraq and Iraq's interest in putting an end to the widespread smuggling operations via Kuwait, and

"the addressing of the big trouble in securing peace in the southern regions bordering Kuwait because Kuwait had become a haven for escaped criminals not only from Iraq but from different nearby countries."

It also mentioned the necessity of finding a naval outlet for Iraq on the Arabian Gulf in order to avoid the economic damages that had been inflicted on Iraq. Finally, it mentioned the treatment of counter-Iraq activity after Kuwait became a centre for adverse propaganda aiming at the destabilization of Iraq's security. The note offered two suggestions: the first being the achievement of Kuwait's accession to the Arab Union established between Iraq and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The second was:

"If the British Government saw that accession cannot be achieved for the time being, then the Government of the Arab Union finds itself compelled to announce that all the islands existing in the territorial waters are within the boundaries of the Arab Union, and that the land border line between the Arab Union and Kuwait starts from the meeting point of al-Oja valley with al-Batin valley and heads eastwards in a direct line until it reaches al-Jahra on the sea of Kuwait's Gulf provided it would be understood that the Government of the Arab Union recognizes all the existing oil concessions on their current terms. As regards the region being invested by the oil companies and what financial arrangements have ensued between different parties it would remain as it is except for the necessary financial needs of the Union Government."

The note expressed the hope that the British Government would be able to advise the Sheikh of Kuwait on choosing what is best for him of the two solutions and with all possible speed. If he chooses the first solution, then there remains a necessity for discussing the boundary matter, and if he chooses the second solution, which deals with boundaries, then the Government of the Arab Union would be prepared to sign a treaty of friendship and good-neighbourliness with him.

The note represented the last position of the monarchy regime that ruled Iraq after the establishment of the modern State of Iraq until the 14 July 1958 revolution took place. That regime was known to be one among the staunchest allies of the West. The Iraqi Government and the Government of the Arab Union became firmly convinced that Britain was behind the obstacles preventing the achievement of this objective. This generated tension in Iraqi-British relations and led Iraq to intensify its efforts and pressure upon Britain. The Iraqi Government prepared an official note bolstered by documented evidence which supports the necessity of Kuwait's entry into the Arab Union. It was decided to publish this note on 12 July 1958, but the British Ambassador requested the postponement of the publication and conveyed to the Arab Union's Foreign Minister, Tawfiq al-Suwaidi, Britain's initial acceptance of the idea of Kuwait's accession to the Arab Union provided that the details of the matter be discussed at a meeting which was set to be held on 24 July 1958 in London between the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of the Arab Union on the one side, and their British counterparts on the other. However, the 14 July 1958 revolution in Iraq prevented such a meeting.

In 1961, Britain decided to grant Kuwait "independence", a decision which prompted the then Prime Minister of Iraq to declare, in a press conference on 25 June 1961, that Iraq considered Kuwait an integral part of its territory and that Iraq did not recognize the special relationship agreement between Britain and Kuwait which the Sheikh of Kuwait, Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah, had signed with Colonel M. J. Meade, the British Political Resident in the Gulf, on 19 June 1961. Following that declaration, Britain deployed its armed forces to confront Iraq.

Because of the mistake made by Iraq's Foreign Minister at the time, Hashim Jawad, when he withdrew, in angry protest, from the meeting of the Arab League Council, the chance arose to make Kuwait a member of the League, because the decision to admit a new member to the Arab League must win the unanimous approval of the members.

The Iraqi Foreign Ministry issued a statement on 21 July 1961, declaring that the Arab League's decision No. 35-1777, accepting Kuwait as a member of the League of Arab States, to be a flagrant "violation" of the League's Charter, which stipulated unanimity. Iraq also declared the said decision to be null and void and its belief that Kuwait would remain an integral part of its territory and that Iraq would seek to restore this part by all legitimate means.

The Government of the Kuwaiti regime failed in more than one attempt to join the United Nations between 1961 and late 1963.

Following the downfall of the political regime which ruled Iraq between July 1958 and February 1963, the Prime Minister of the Government of Kuwait, in late 1963, visited Baghdad in circumstances of political confusion and instability in Iraq. A joint communiqué was issued referring to the correspondence of 1932. However, the National Revolution Command Council, the highest Iraqi legislative authority according to the interim Constitution of 1963, did not ratify the said communiqué.

This historical review shows that all the successive Governments of Iraq were never convinced of severing any part from the land of Iraq and had not signed a border treaty. No constitutional law in Iraq describing this border has ever been promulgated.

Such was the situation prevailing by the time of the Revolution of 17 to 30 July 1968. The revolutionary Government has been keen, under instruction from President Saddam Hussein, to settle this problem in a manner that would secure for Iraq a reasonable measure of its historical rights and remove at least a limited part of the injustice done to it since the beginning of this century.

During the 1970s, Iraq was the party that took the initiative in approaching the rulers of Kuwait to find such a settlement. But those rulers, encouraged by their foreign allies, insisted that Iraq accept the measures imposed by the British colonialists. The Foreign Minister of Iraq visited

Kuwait City in 1972 and 1973 to discuss this issue. The Interior Minister, too, visited Kuwait City for the same purpose on 16 May 1978. Several committees were formed without achieving any result.

This chapter on the discussions of this issue was put aside following the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war. Immediately after the liberation of Fao, and while attending the Algiers Summit, the Iraqi Foreign Minister took the initiative in informing the Foreign Minister of Kuwait of Iraq's genuine desire to settle this issue. What raised astonishment was that the regime in Kuwait did not respond promptly to this desire and did not reply to the offer of Iraq until the beginning of July 1988, when the Foreign Minister of Kuwait visited Iraq and it was agreed that the subject be discussed by the two Foreign Ministers.

The talks between the two Ministers were delayed owing to the start of the Iraqi-Iranian negotiations and the preoccupation of Iraq's Foreign Minister with them. It was decided to send the Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council to Kuwait City on 6 December 1988 to urge the authority there to resume discussing the matter. It was agreed that the Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council from the Iraqi side and the Crown Prince from their side would discuss the subject.

The visit of the Vice-Chairman of the Revolution Command Council was returned by Saad al-Abdullah's visit to Baghdad on 6 February 1989. It was clear that he was not prepared to consider even the simple and minimum of Iraq's legitimate demands.

On 27 March 1989, Minister Saud al-Usaimi made a visit to Baghdad, during which he officially asked that the talks on this issue be postponed. During the visit made by the Sheikh of Kuwait to Baghdad in September 1989, President Saddam Hussein proposed to him once again the resumption of talks on the issue. It was agreed to pursue the matter between Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Saadoun Hammadi on the Iraqi side and their Foreign Minister on the Kuwaiti side. Dr. Saadoun Hammadi did actually visit Kuwait City on 19 November 1989 to discuss the matter. Their former Foreign Minister did not return that visit until February 1990.

It ought to be mentioned here that the former Sheikhs of Kuwait took advantage of the situation during the entire period while the settlement of this issue remained pending. They also exploited Iraq's internal and regional preoccupations, the last of which being the Iran-Iraq war, which lasted eight years. They exploited it to consolidate their territorial encroachment northwards by the establishment of police posts, military installations, farms and oil installations. In 1963, for instance, the checkpoint for crossing from Kuwait to Basrah was at al-Mitla'a, where passports were stamped for departure. We enclose some photocopies of them. But this checkpoint was moved more than 70 kilometres to the north in order to press a fait accompli upon Iraq which was preoccupied during the said period with its internal affairs and the region's problems.

The historical and geographical facts which I have elucidated above indicate in an irrefutable manner that Iraq did not accept, at any past time, any formula for the delimitation of the boundary and did not agree to any interpretation of it or any manner of its demarcation. This position was not spontaneous because it rests upon a factual reality which states that the boundary delimitation formula and its British interpretations and the British endeavours aiming at the demarcation of the boundaries as based upon them usurp Iraq's territorial rights and its legitimate interests, such rights and interests that are in perfect harmony with the facts of history and geography. This factual reality explains the uniformity of the Iraqi position throughout the different political regimes in Iraq and all of the successive Governments, a position which had stayed as it is without change. Thus, the Commission decisions that came in the course of imposing the boundary issue upon Iraq from the beginning in a predetermined course are baseless and bear no evidence.

Following this review of the facts of history and geography, it becomes unequivocally clear to every impartial observer that the decisions adopted by the Commission during its New York session from 8 to 16 April 1992 represent a purely political decision imposed by the Powers dominating the Security Council at present, particularly the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom.

The political objective of this decision is clearly not only to deny Iraq its historical territorial rights and undermine its vital interests, but also deliberately to create an illegal and illogical situation which arouses the indignation, and threatens the interests, of an ancient people whose predicament has been imposed upon it by armed force and political blackmail. The objective is also to create a climate of dissatisfaction, dissent and instability in the whole region.

It is this kind of climate which the decision makers (the United States and the United Kingdom), want to preserve in the region as a whole, in order to justify the perpetuation of their military bases and of the presence of their armed forces in a state of occupation which will enable them to continue extorting the ruling regimes in Kuwait and the region and pillaging the oil wealth of the area.

Any ratification by the Security Council of this unjust decision, which has been deliberately directed by two of its permanent members, will constitute a very dangerous precedent, contrary in substance and consequences to the duties and responsibilities entrusted to the Council by the Charter of the United Nations. Once the Security Council has ratified this decision, it will not have contributed to the preservation of security and stability in the region but will rather have consciously created a continuous hotbed of tension as well as deliberately violated the legitimate and vital interests of a State Member of the United Nations. If there were compelling circumstances which force the Iraqi authorities to take certain positions regarding this decision, the people of Iraq could never be convinced that its historical rights had been respected and its vital interests safeguarded by the Security Council in

a manner compatible with the rules of international law and the criteria of justice and fairness. The Arab Nation will continue to view this decision as one link in the chain of Western imperialist games which began after the First World War and which have always been the subject of indignation and rejection on the part of the Arab Nation, and which have caused many of the disturbances and changes witnessed in the Arab Nation. The situation which we witness today is not new to the world, and the world knows the outcome resulting from such instances.

In bringing this letter to an end, I would like to recall that this conclusion is not ours alone, but it is also shared by many fair-minded people in the region and the world at large.

Allow me at this point to draw your attention to some of the views on the subject published in the Arab and foreign press:

In an article by Caryle Murphy published by The Washington Post on 5 May 1992, one official was reported to have said:

> "I think that's something Kuwait should consider if it wants a boundary for keeps. Both parties can still agree on another line for other reasons."

The writer quotes Mr. Fred Halliday, an expert in international relations at the London School of Economics, as saying in regard to the situation as it now stands:

> "We have the seeds of another war. I can't see any way that any Iraqi Government would support this demarcation."

The article quotes also Mr. Mochtar Kusuma-Atmadja, the Chairman of the Commission, as saying:

> "The task given to us, according to the resolution, says demarcation, not delimitation ... only countries can delimit boundaries."

The article noted that:

> "Even early documents show that this border has never been a pacific one."

It reported Mr. Ian Brook a member of the Commission to have said:

> "Some of the most acrimonious discussions have been between British and British", referring to letters exchanged when Kuwait was administered from Britain's India Office and Iraq was under the Colonial Office."

In an article entitled "The Umm Qasr time bomb", written by G. H. Jansen in Middle East International and published on 6 March 1992, the following was stated:

"The UN Commission's giving Umm Qasr to Kuwait can only be explained as a further example of America's punitive campaign against Iraq and already US officials are reported as saying that they will insist that the new boundary be respected as Iraq's southern border."

The writer adds:

"The UN has produced a time bomb which only the Security Council can defuse, by basing itself on natural justice and rejecting the Commission's findings when they are submitted in April."

In an article published by the Wall Street Journal on 5 December 1991, entitled "The UN hires a sleuth to find border between Iraq and Kuwait", which presented a somewhat detailed account on the role of the British expert and of the representative of Kuwait investigating the point at Safwan, the following was said:

"But some experts warn that such an adjustment - which Iraq, with only one vote on the Commission, can't prevent - could sow the seeds for future conflict."

The article quotes Mr. Richard Schofield, Deputy Director of the Geopolitics and International Boundaries Research Centre in London as saying:

"The age-old problem of Iraqi access to the Gulf remains. Iraq never felt able to live with this, and may not in the future."

The Financial Times concluded an article published on 19 February 1992 as follows:

"Common borders are finally a matter of bilateral consent between neighbouring countries but US officials say they will insist the new boundary be respected as Iraq's southern border."

Under the title "The new outline of the frontier between Iraq and Kuwait raises serious problems" Le Monde on 21 April 1992 stated that:

"Situated at the mouth of Khowr Zhobeir at the north-west extremity of the Gulf, the Umm Qasr port and naval base, today threatened, are only part of the gigantic complex built 20 years ago by Iraq in this area vital for its development: petrochemical, steel, gas liquefaction and fertilizer plants, and dry docks for the repair of vessels. The water channels leading to the Gulf were dredged in 1990 in order to permit the entry of larger tankers. All this area has become a priority after the cease-fire with Iran because it constitutes an alternative to Basrah on the Shatt al-Arab, which is filled with wreckage and falls within the range of Iranian fire. The new line of the frontier is in danger of reducing these enormous investments to nothing."

The newspaper adds:

> "But voices are being raised to the effect that, apart from the technical work of the Commission, political considerations and commonsense should be taken into account so as to ensure respect for the interests of the two countries and to avoid future conflicts."

In an article published in the Jordanian daily Al-Ra'i on 19 April 1992, Mr. Tariq Msarwa wrote the following:

> "During the recent meeting of the Committee for the demarcation of the Iraq-Kuwait boundary line the Commission "discovered" that parts of the land of the Iraqi side (the whole of the Rumaila oilfield and three quarters of the port of Umm Qasr, Iraq's single port on the Gulf which was developed at huge cost) belong to Kuwait!!! The objective of the Commission is no different from the objective the British assigned to themselves - the task of speaking for all concerned at al-Eqair negotiations and "agreed with themselves" to isolate Iraq. Otherwise, why was the uninhabited island of Bubiyan given to Kuwait at a time when the whole population of Kuwait was less than 10,000? What is important now is that the boundary line between Iraq and Kuwait is being determined by a United Nations Commission which knows that both the scope and outcome of its work are predetermined by the United States and Britain. If the objective of the Eqair negotiations in the 1920s was to isolate Iraq from the world, what is being done now is to plant the seeds of ongoing Iraqi-Kuwaiti enmity regardless of whether the political system on either side remains or changes!!!"

In an article published on 19 April 1992, in the Jordanian daily Al-Distour, Mr. Mohammed Daoudiyah stated that:

> "Encroaching upon the territory of Iraq means very simply planting highly volatile explosives in inter-Arab relations and closing the door before all reason and wisdom."

Mr. Dawoodiyah wonders:

> "How can any Iraqi overlook this flagrant violation of his or her country's territory, or remain indifferent while Iraqi life is being denied all access to the Arabian Gulf?"

In an article entitled: "Beware the seditious work of the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission", the Jordanian daily Sawt al-Shaab wrote on 19 April 1992 the following:

> "It seems that the United States of America and its allies are bent on planting inter-Arab division and conflict, and remain determined to create pretexts, motives and justifications for the eruption of self-destructive regional wars which will render all parties involved military and economically worn-out and politically vulnerable, a state of

affairs ripe at all times for American and Western intervention to settle the disputes at hand. Otherwise, what is the meaning of the decision taken by the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission to bestow upon Kuwait part of the Iraqi port city of Umm Qasr and push about 200 kilometres of the boundary line 600 metres inside Iraq to the benefit of Kuwait?"

The article goes on to say that:

"To take advantage of Iraq's difficult circumstances in order to violate its right to sovereignty and territorial integrity or usurp part of its land with the help of the enemies of Iraq and the Arab nation is like playing with fire, and may be even far more dangerous than that. So, beware the sedition planted by the enemies of our nation in order to stir wars amongst brothers."

In a news analysis by Dr. Saad Aboudiyah published in Al-Shaab of Jordan on 21 April 1992, the writer wrote:

"In my view, as long as these allocations remain unacceptable to either party, they will continue to constitute the time bomb they have always been."

Dr. Aboudiyah also said:

"In brief, the Commission, by taking the decision it has taken, has in fact contributed to rekindling the flames of conflict anew. The people of Iraq will continue to feel the grave injustice done to them in the boundary demarcation issue."

In an article entitled "Inter-Arab boundaries set ablaze ... Why now?", published in the Al-Distour daily of Jordan, Dr. Nabeel Al-Shareef wrote, on 21 April 1992:

"Let's begin with the Iraq-Kuwait boundary demarcation question which has been determined in a manner which makes it ready to explode at any time in the future. It is illogical to bestow Iraqi territory upon Kuwait and deny Iraq all access to the sea; and those who have accepted this iniquitous demarcation of the boundary line have in fact done nothing to help in any way to resolve the boundary issue between the two countries. Indeed, all they have done is to leave this issue unresolved, fraught with bitterness and ready to explode and unleash its bloody outcome. They would have much better evinced the far-sightedness which would assure the coming Arab generations the right climate of security, brotherliness and good-neighbourliness. Iraq, whose name runs back to the deep roots of human history and which has stamped its mark on geography, will never disappear from the map. The presence of foreign forces in this region cannot be eternal, in spite of the success achieved in this particular instance by the tendency to enflame inter-Arab boundary disputes."

The writer sums up by saying:

> "The Arab borders have not blazed suddenly with no reasons behind it, but rather to perpetuate the frazzled Arab state of affairs and augment the already existing atmosphere of panic to impel others to stick the American Grand Protector, especially that those borders that were set ablaze exist in the Gulf and Jazirah area, an oil region which the United States of America needs today and will continue to need tomorrow."

In a report published in the Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper on 21 April 1992, a diplomat is quoted as saying:

> "There is nothing the Iraqis can do in the short term other than complain. But this will pose a permanent danger, a time bomb, to the long-term relations between the two countries, a danger that will persist."

In Al-Ahram al-Dawli of 22 April 1992, Mr. Mohammed Othman started his daily column, entitled "Hatha-assabah (This morning)", by saying:

> "The new borders between Iraq and Kuwait that have been demarcated lately can be nothing other than a time bomb waiting to be exploded at any moment, sooner or later."

The Jordanian Akhbar al-Asbou' daily of 23 April 1992 addressed the border dispute in the Arab Jazirah and the Arabian Gulf, referring to it as:

> "A tribal inheritance nourished by the oil boom and petro-dollar wealth, perpetuated by the foreign companies which were backed by the British colonial occupations that were imposed throughout the Jazirah and the coastal strip along both sides of the Gulf reaching Iraq following its occupation in early twentieth century."

The newspaper added:

> "Britain, as protector country, felt that it would be difficult to bring those tribes under control. Therefore it resorted to the scheme of containing those tribes within entities among which it sowed the seeds of fear with a view to facilitating their control. In addition, it made open maps available to those tribes to serve as an element of demolition of any future national unity."

The paper concluded by saying:

> "This agonizing state of affairs is being experienced in the Arab Jazirah. The most prominent event of it is perhaps what is being done on the Iraq-Kuwait boundary question, in which the United Nations intervened to usurp Iraq's Rumaila oil field and the port of Umm Qasr according to British maps, in a move to further debilitate Iraq and consequently ignite further eruptions in the area."

In a piece entitled: "By relying on British maps, the United Nations Commission adopts a resolution to divide the Arabian Gulf", Al-Ra'i newspaper of Jordan wrote on 24 April 1992:

> "This is not the first time for the United Nations to use British maps to destroy existing political entities and divide the people who have struggled to maintain their national unity and preserve their pan-Arab character."

Having touched on the issue of Palestine, the paper went on to write the following on the issue of the Iraq-Kuwait borders:

> "The decision adopted by the United Nations Commission on the demarcation of the boundary line between Iraq and Kuwait will leave both sides for many generations to come, and with the blessings of the United Nations, engaged in an endless fight and in a state of permanent enmity, especially in view of the fact that Umm Qasr and the Rumaila oilfield have both always been part of Iraq since the day it bore its name and long before the arrival of any British colonialist in the Gulf region. The British policy of "divide and rule" is not new to Britain and its maps. For this policy has been implemented for dozens of years in our Arab land. But when such a policy marches to the United Nations and finds its way to UN practice, then we begin to realize the potential dangers of this international Organization which has actually become the "Organization of the American nations".

Mr. Abdul Latif Al-Furati, Editor-in-Chief of the Tunisian Al-Sabah daily, wrote in an editorial article on 26 April 1992:

> "It is imperative that a stand of rejection emerge on the Iraq-Kuwait border demarcation issue, since boundary lines cannot be forcefully imposed upon one party or the other without the consent of the two sides concerned. Otherwise, any boundary delimitation carried out against the will of any of the two countries will become a time bomb which may explode at any moment. Furthermore, any agreement reached must be based on justice and on the history of the situation."

(Signed) Ahmad HUSSEIN
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Enclosure

Photocopies of passports stamped for departure at al-Mitla'a

K H J ..... ☎001

BEARER OF PASSPORT — حامل جواز السفر

Profession — المهنة	[illegible]
Place and date of birth — محل الميلاد وتاريخه	الكويت ١٩٤٤
Domicile — محل الاقامة الدائمي	ح
Height — الطول	١ متر ٧٥ سنتيمتر (cm. / m.)
Colour of eyes — لون العينين	سوداء
Colour of hair — لون الشعر	اسود
Distinguishing marks — العلامات الفارقة	لا يوجد

CHILDREN — الاولاد

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الاوصاف — DESCRIPTION

WIFE — الزوجة

Profession — المهنة	
Place and date of birth — محل الميلاد وتاريخه	
Domicile — محل الاقامة الدائمي	
Height — الطول	متر (m.) سنتيمتر (cm.)
Colour of eyes — لون العينين	
Colour of hair — لون الشعر	
Distinguishing marks — العلامات الفارقة	

CHILDREN — الاولاد

	Name — الاسم	Date of birth — تاريخ الميلاد	Sex — الجنس
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BEARER OF PASSPORT

حامل جواز السفر	
المهنة Profession	
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محل الاقامة الدائمي Domicile	البصرة
الطول Height	متر ١ سنتيمتر cm. m.
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CHILDREN — الاولاد

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محل الاقامة الدائمي Domicile	
الطول Height	متر سنتيمتر cm. m.
لون العينين Colour of eyes	
لون الشعر Colour of hair	
العلامات الفارقة Distinguishing marks	

CHILDREN — الاولاد

Sex الجنس	Date of birth تاريخ الميلاد	Name الاسم
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This Passport contains 48 Pages

يحتوي هذا الجواز على (٤٨) صحيفة

REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

الجمهورية العراقية

PASSPORT

جواز سفر

رقم جواز السفر No. of Passport	٣٣١٨٢ / 33182
اسم حامله Name of bearer	ضرية ياسين ذهب
اسم زوجته Wife's name	
عدد الاولاد No. of Children	واحد One
الجنسية Nationality	عراقية

PASSPORT

جواز سفر

In the name of the Minister for Foreign Affairs

GREETINGS;

All competent authorities are requested to accord bearer of this passport protection, to allow him passage and to afford him all possible assistance in case of need.

باسم وزير خارجية

الى يحيى من يهمه

الامر ونرجو ان يشملوا حامل

هذا الجواز برعايتهم ، وان

يسمحوا له بالمرور ، وان

يقدموا له جميع المساعدات

الممكنة عند الاقتضاء .

Given at ..... صدر في البصرة

the ..... اليوم الثالث العشرين

of .....19 ١٩٦١ من شباط

Passport Officer. مأمور الجوازات

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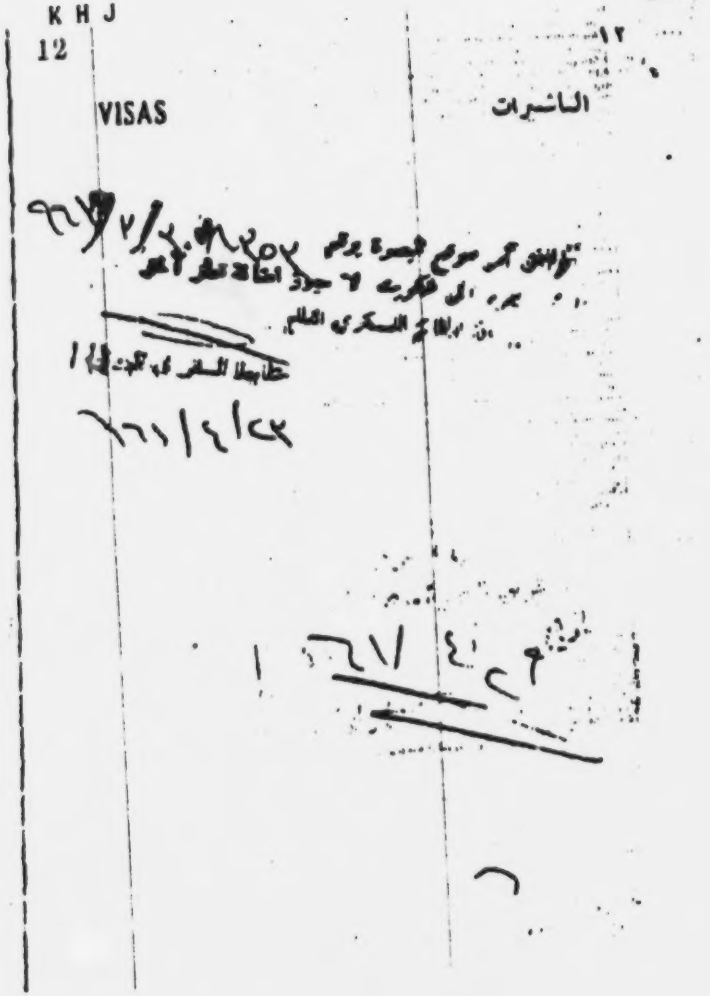

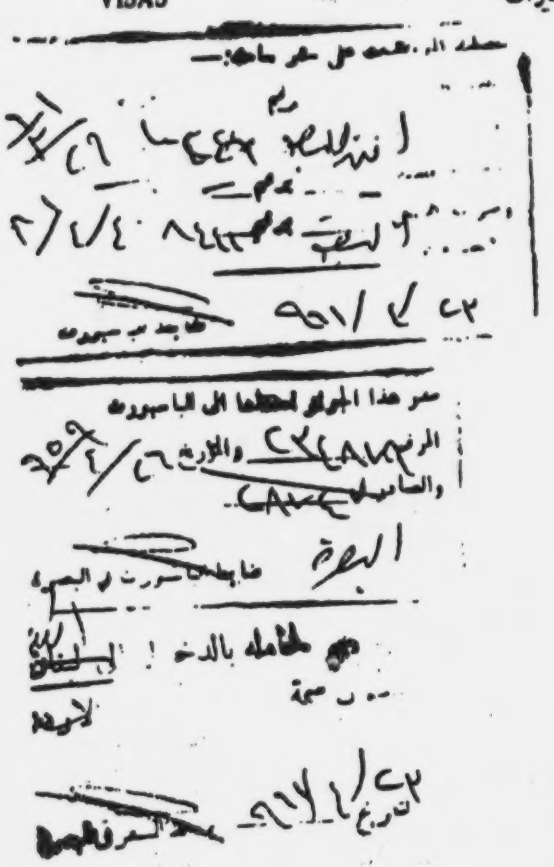

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1—RENEWALS ١ــ التمديدات

PASSPORT OFFICE مكتب الجوازات

Baghdad في بغداد 7/11/62

No.5189 D.. ٦٢/١١/٧ الرقم ٥١٨٩ تاريخ

This passport is ...by هذا الجواز ... بمدت مدة الـ...

renewed valid until: 22/4/1963 ٢٢/٤/١٩٦٣

A. Rich ...
Passport Officer ضابط الجوازات

٧

وافقت مديرية السفر والجنسية على سفر حامله
بكتابها المرقم ١١٨٠٢ والمؤرخ في ٤/١١/٦٢

بغداد في ٧/١١/١٩٦٢ ضابط السفر

OBSERVATIONS الملحوظات

وافق الحاكم العسكري العام بكتابه ٤٧٤٨ ل ٧/١١/١٩٦٢
على سفر ... خبرة ... صلف
وا... حسن عبدا... لمدة شهر واحد
تاريخ ... ٧/١١/١٩٦٢

ضابط الجوازات ...

اضيف الطفل حسن عبدالله ...
مواليد عام ١٩٦٠ الى هذا الجواز

ضابط سفر بغداد
٧/١١/١٩٦٢

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VISAS
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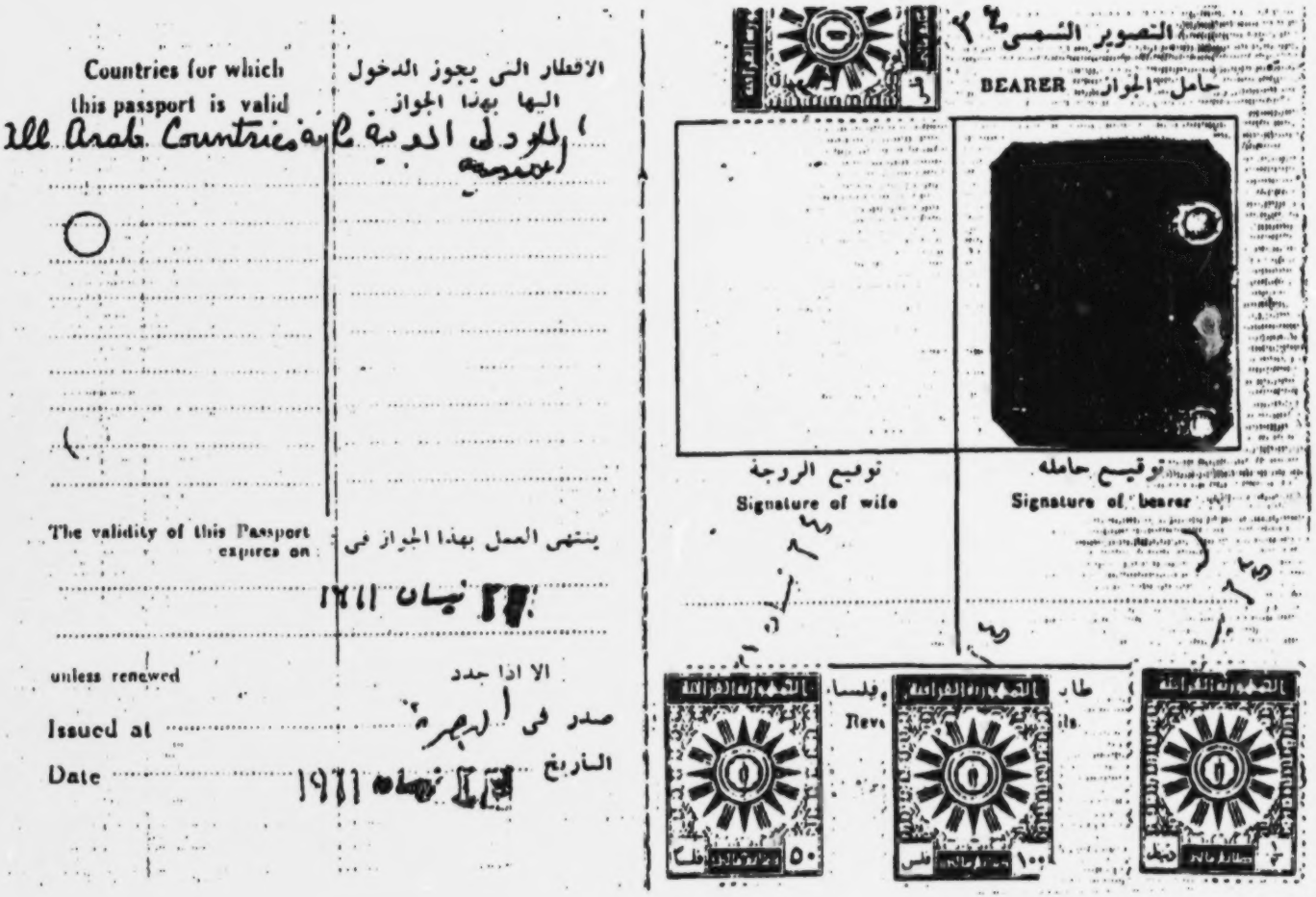


الاقطار التى يجوز الدخول
اليها بهذا الجواز
Countries for which
this passport is valid
All Arab Countries
الدول العربية

ينتهى العمل بهذا الجواز فى
The validity of this Passport
expires on
٢٢ نيسان ١٩٦١

الا اذا جدد
unless renewed

صدر فى القاهرة
Issued at

التاريخ
Date
١٩٦١ نيسان ٢٢

التصوير الشمسى
حامل الجواز BEARER

توقيع حامله
Signature of bearer

توقيع الزوجة
Signature of wife

21/05 '92 21:21 ☎616761

This Passport contains 48 Pages

يحتوى هذا الجواز
على (٤٨) صحيفة

REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

الجمهورية العراقية

PASSPORT

جواز سفر

173876 ع/ ١٧٣٨٧٦ رقم جواز السفر — No. of Passport

زكية الحاج حلوان كروف اسم حامله — Name of bearer

اسم زوجته — Wife's name

عدد الاولاد — No. of Children

عراقية الجنسية — Nationality

K H J 003

REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

الجمهورية العراقية

PASSPORT

جواز سفر

—o—

—o—

In the name of the Minister for Foreign Affairs

GREETINGS;

All competent authorities are requested to accord bearer of this passport protection, to allow him passage and to afford him all possible assistance in case of need.

باسم وزير خارجية العراق نحيي من يهمهم الامر ونرجو ان يشملوا حامل هذا الجواز برعايتهم وان يسمحوا له بالمرور وان يقدموا له جميع المساعدات الممكنة عند الاقتضاء.

Given at ..... صدر في

the 26 ..... في اليوم السادس والعشرين

of ..... من شهر ١٩٦٢

Passport Officer. ضابط الجوازات

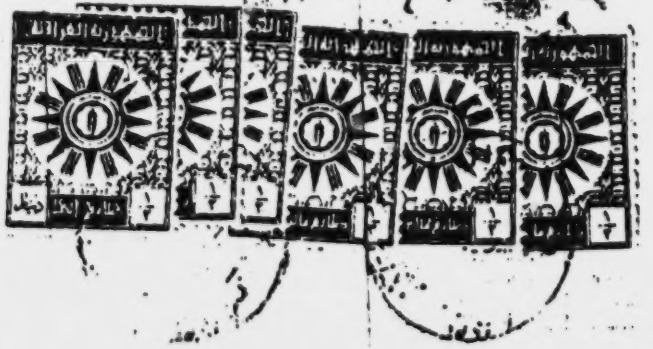
S/24044
English
Page 33

004 التصوير الشمسي PHOTOGRAPH K H J

حامل الجواز BEARER الزوجة WIFE

حامله
Signature of

توقيع الزوجة
Signature of wife



21/05 '92 21:23 ☎616761

Countries for which this passport is valid	الاقطار التى يجوز الدخول اليها بهذا الجواز
	الاردن ايران الكويت والعربيه السعوديه

The validity of this Passport expires on ينتهى العمل بهذا الجواز فى ٢٥/٢/١٩٩٥

unless renewed الا اذا جدد

Issued at صدر فى

Date التاريخ

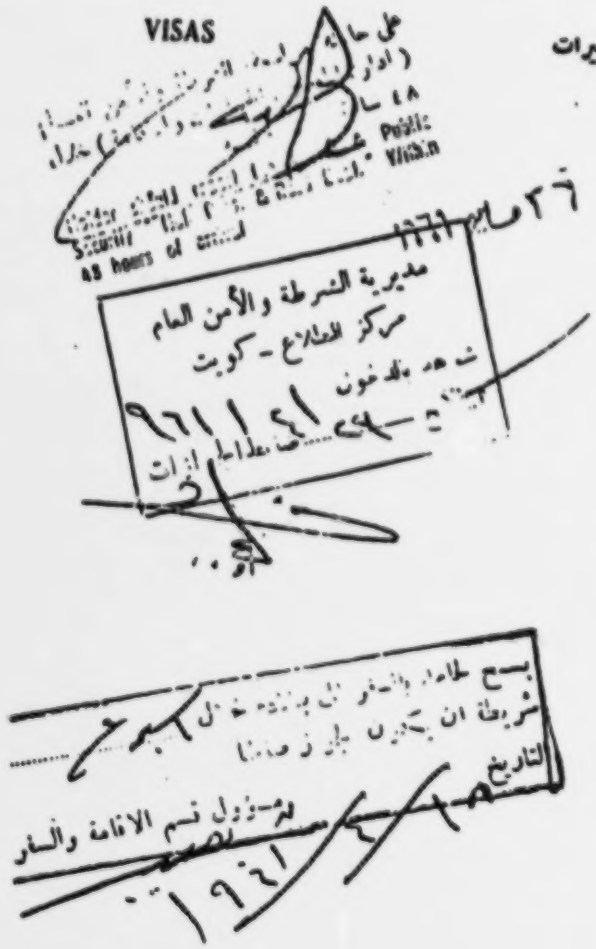
/...

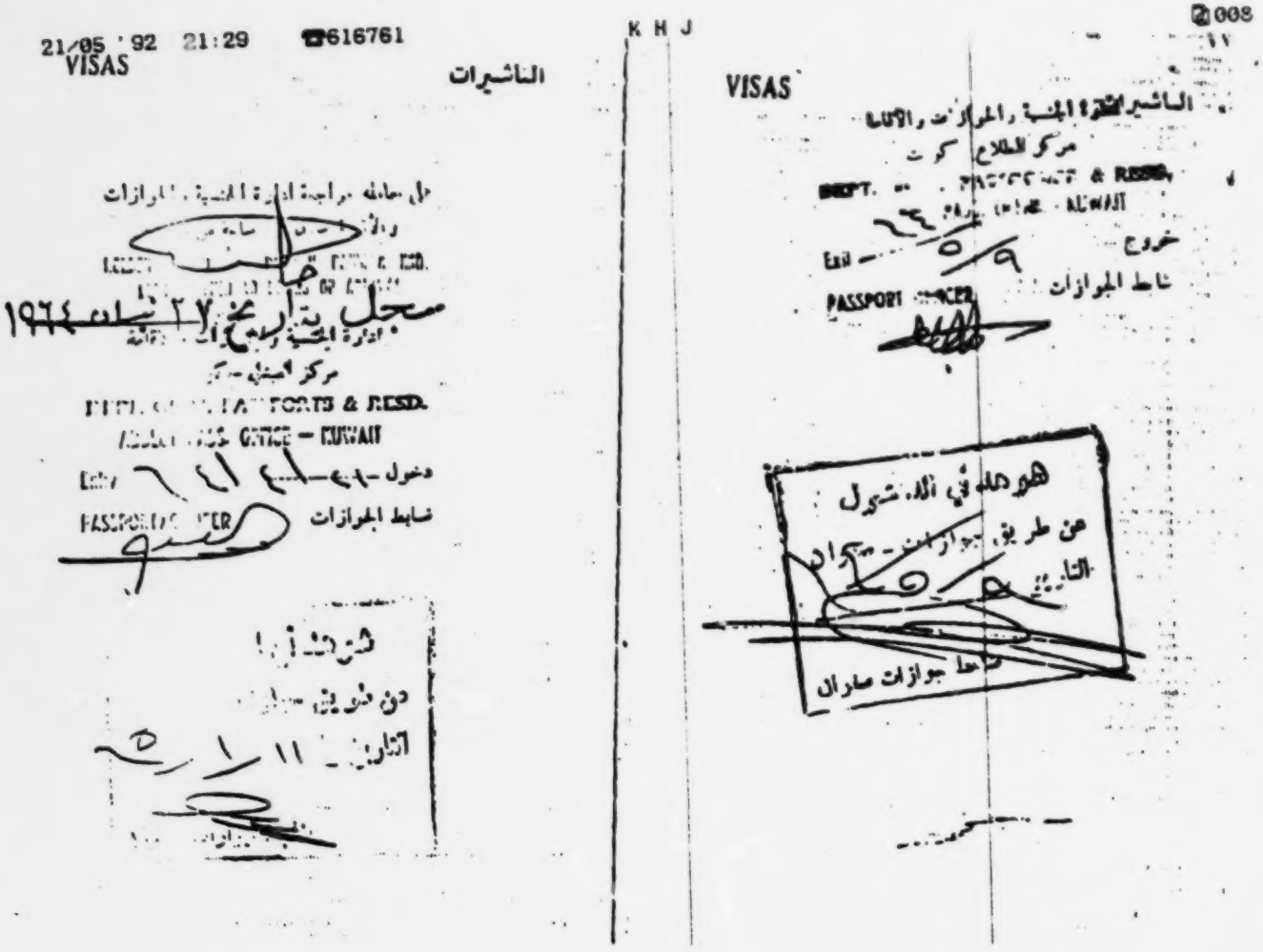
005
21/05 '92 21:24 616761
I—RENEWALS
K H J
OBSERVATIONS

/...

006
تأشيرات التجديد
K H J
1—RENEWALS
21/05 '92 21:26 616761
VISAS
التأشيرات

/...


VISAS
التاشيرات
مديرية الشرطة والأمن العام
مركز الاطلاع - كويت
26 مايو 1991
Public
Visas
48 hours


21/05 '92 21:29 ☎616761
VISAS
التأشيرات
سجل بتاريخ ٢٧ نيسان ١٩٦٤
VISAS
التأشيرات
خروج
ضابط الجوازات
هو دخل في الدشيرل
عن طريق جواز
التأشيرة
ضابط جوازات مطار

REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

الجمهورية العراقية

PASSPORT

جواز سفر

In the name of the Minister for Foreign Affairs

GREETINGS;

All competent authorities are requested to accord bearer of this passport protection, to allow him passage and to afford him all possible assistance in case of need.

باسم وزير خارجية العراق نحيي من يهمهم الامر ونرجو أن يشملوا حامل هذا الجواز برعايتهم ، وان يسمحوا له بالمرور ، وان يقدموا له جميع المساعدات الممكنة عند الاقتضاء .

Given at ....

the .....

of 19

صدر في البصرة

في اليوم الحادي عشر

من شهر شباط ١٩٦١

Passport Officer.

ضابط الجوازات

عبد السميع خليل

003

K H J
1

21/05 '92 21:40 ☎616761

5

Countries for which this passport is valid	الاقطار التى يجوز الدخول اليها بهذا الجواز
	الكويت

PHOTOGRAPH التصوير الشمسى

BEARER حامل الجواز WIFE الزوجة

توقيع حامله
Signature of bearer

توقيع الزوجة
Signature of wife

The validity of this Passport expires on : ينتهى العمل بهذا الجواز فى :

unless renewed الا اذا جدد

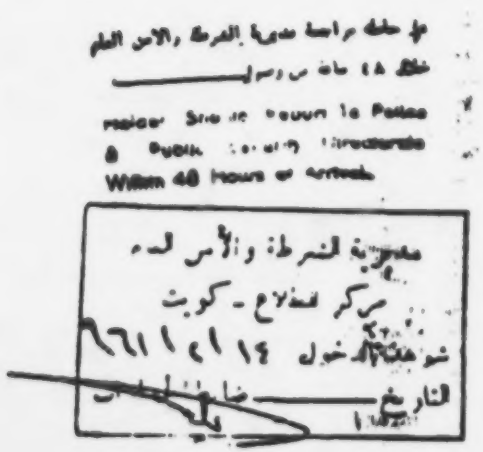
Issued at صدر فى البصره

Date التاريخ

/...

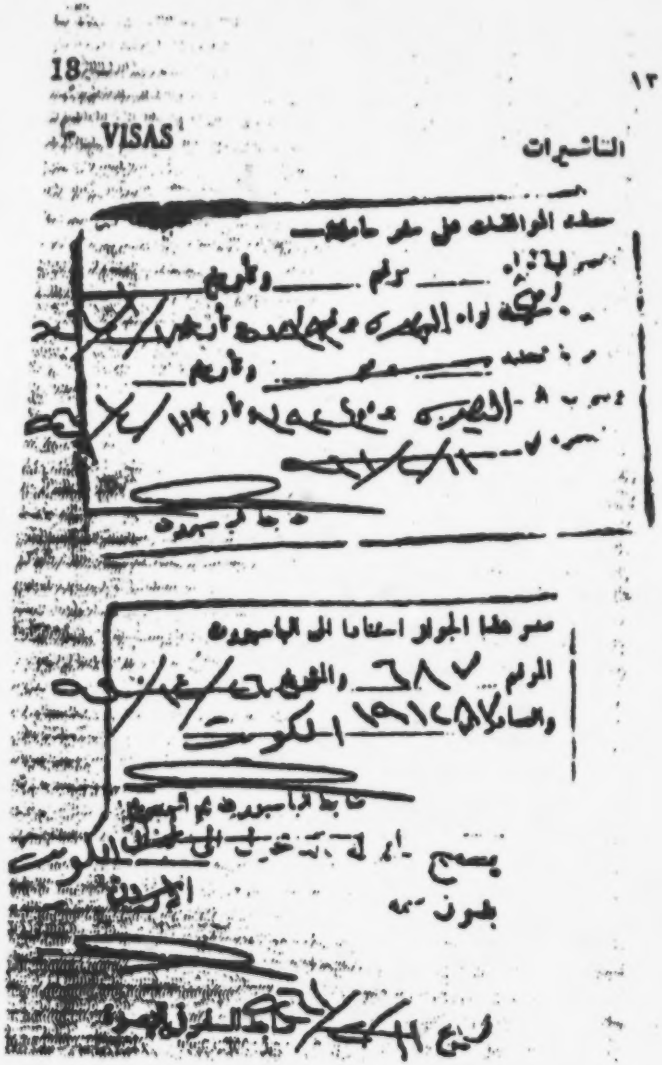
11 ١١

VISAS التأشيرات



10 ١٠

4—RENEWALS ٤ — التمديدات



12 ١٢

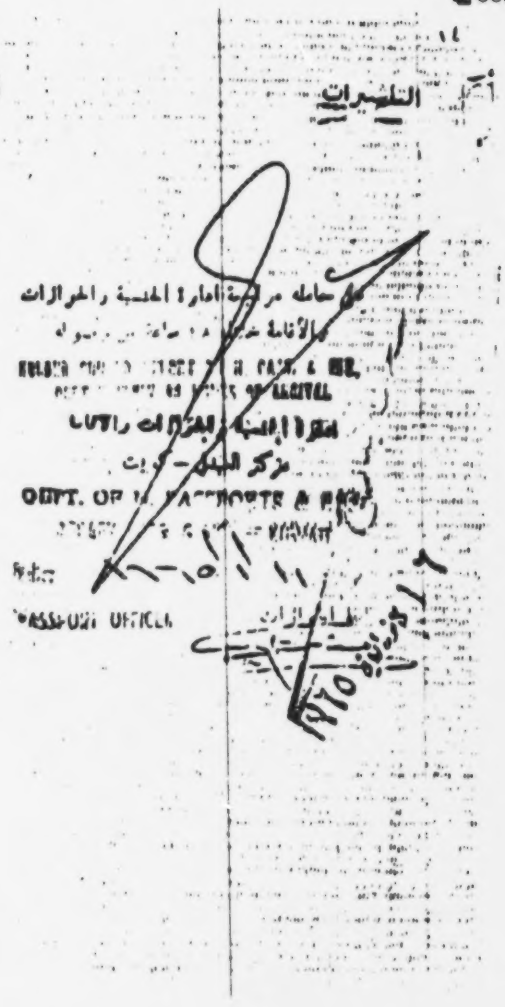
VISAS التأشيرات

18 ١٣

VISAS التأشيرات

005 K H J

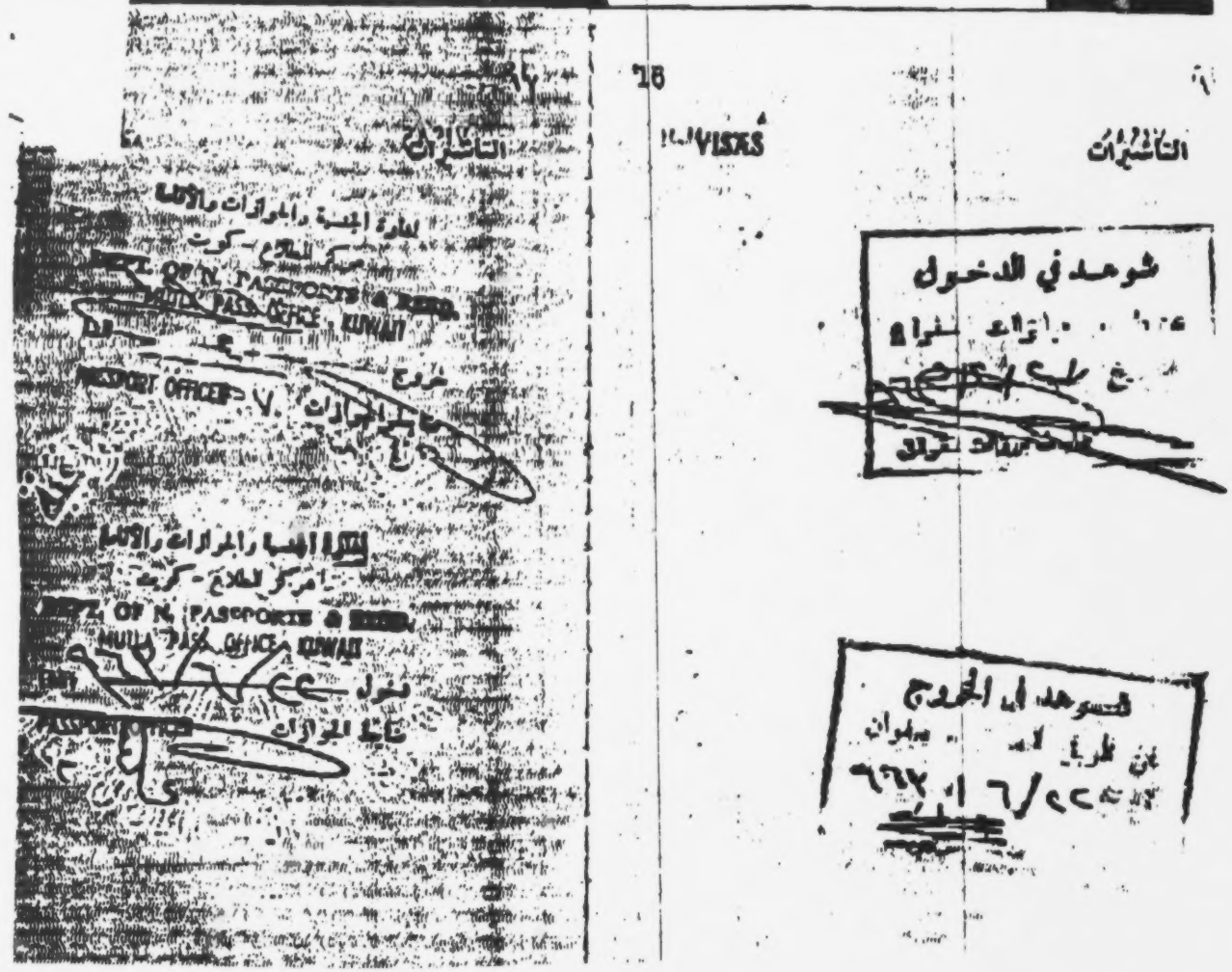
VISAS التأشيرات



21/05 '92 21:45 ☎616761 ١٥

VISAS التأشيرات

/...


VISAS
التأشيرات
شوهد في الدخول
شوهد في الخروج